TRAVELS IN INDIA,
AND HISTORY OF THE
MOGUL RULERS

DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS

BY MR. NICOLAS MANUCHI, VENETIAN

FIRST PART,

CONTAINING THE JOURNEY OF
NICOLAS MANUCHI, HIS ARRIVAL IN INDIA,

AND

THE HISTORY OF THE MOGUL KINGS FROM
TAMERLANE UNTIL THE ACCESSION OF
AURANGZEB

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NOTICE TO THE READER

As I know that other persons have written their travels, with descriptions of the countries they have passed through, and of the kingdoms where they remained for a time, these descriptions dealing often with the Mogul Empire, I long judged it a vain labour to make public any account of my journey from Venice through Asia, and of my sojourn in the land of the Mogul, where I have passed the better part of my life; but I could not resist the importunities of my friends, who have a great belief in my knowledge of that country, and a conviction that certain persons have written falsehoods in their books (as I myself have observed in several places). Therefore, although already old, I have resolved, with the encouragement of those who know me and who have written to me, to give the reader true information as to what passed there in my time and before it, emphasizing several particulars which could not have come to the knowledge of others.

I shall tell of all that happened to me and of all that I saw, without exaggerating any one thing, for that is abhorrent to me. I shall speak of the kingdom of the Great Mogul, of its politics, and of the conquests made by this eleventh King called Aurangzeb (that is to say, 'Ornament of the Throne'), and of all the kings, his predecessors, whose portraits, with those of the other great lords of this country, I now present to the interested reader, begging him before he leaves Europe for India to read this book, and not to allow himself to be deceived by any less truthful accounts, or by any vain imaginations which may have taken shape in his mind, for I have seen many who bewailed that they had left Europe and come to India, when they found themselves suffering in a strange land; and besides this, all the world cannot meet with such good fortune as that with which it has pleased God to favour me. I warn the reader that, in speaking of certain towns of Turkey and Persia, I speak of them as I saw them and not as they are now. I shall divide my account into three parts, and I shall divide the first into two books. In the first book I shall give an account
of what happened to me from the time I left Venice to my arrival at Dihli; in the second a short account of the Mogul Kings until the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne, with the death of his brothers.

In Part II. I shall describe the conquests made by Aurangzeb, his wars and their success. In Part III. I shall say something as to the politics of the Mogul [f. 2] Empire, something of the greatness of the rajahs and other potentates of Hindustan, and of the revenues of that country. I shall speak of several other special matters, and lastly, I shall say a few words as to the religion of the Hindus.
BOOK I

MY JOURNEY TO INDIA

CHAPTER I

OF MY DEPARTURE FROM VENICE

When I was still quite young, I had a passionate desire to see the world, but as my father would not allow me to leave Venice, my native place, I resolved to quit it in some way or another, no matter how. Finding that there was a tartane just about to leave, although I did not know its destination, I went on board in 1651, at the age of fourteen. The officers of the vessel, thinking that I was the son of one of the merchants who were going on board, did not ask me who I was, but let me pass without question. We had scarcely left Venice before we ran into the teeth of a gale which lasted twenty-four hours—hours of the greatest misery to me, as I was sea-sick, being unaccustomed to the sea. When twenty-four hours had passed, I was forced by hunger to present myself before the captain, who asked under whose protection I was there. I begged for pardon, saying that, having come on board a short time before he put out to sea, I had fallen asleep, and that, finding myself utterly unprovided for, I had come to him. At this he gave orders for me to be looked after; but fortunately for me I found on board an English gentleman in disguise called Lord Bellomont. He had left England to escape death at the hands of Cromwell, protector of that kingdom, who had condemned him because he belonged to the party of King Charles II., then

1. A small, decked vessel, with one mast and a lateen sail, used in the Mediterranean (Littre).
2. Codex XLIV. (Zanetti) gives the month of November. The true year is 1653.
3. On Lord Bellomont and his history, see Note A at the end of this Book of Part I.
in France. This person showed me much affection, and when he asked me if I would like to go with him, I inquired of him his destination. He then told me that he was going to Turkey, Persia, and India. I was much rejoiced thereat, and answered that I would gladly go with him, when he at once gave me the keys of his wardrobe, and I served him with great affection, seeing he loved me as if I had been his son. We arrived at Raguza, where we stayed several days on account of a contrary wind. Having at last set sail, we coasted along Dalmatia, and past several [3] islands, and finally leaving the Archipelago behind, at the end of four months we arrived in the port of Smyrna.
CHAPTER II

OF THE TOWN OF SMYRNA

Smyrna is a Turkish port where we stayed seven days. There is a mingling of many nations there—namely, Italians, French, English, Dutch, and many Armenian merchants, who all live by the borders of the sea. At the time when we were at this port it happened that a Turk gave several blows with a stick to the captain of an English vessel. The Englishman swallowed the affront while he remained in the town waiting to embark, and after he had got a little way out to sea he bombarded the town and fled.

They tell here a story which merits to be recorded at this place by reason of the wit and ingenuity which it displays. At Aleppo, a town of Arabia, dwelt a merchant, a Hebrew by race, the richest of all those in the town. The Bassa (pasha) or governor wanted to despoil this Hebrew, and sought an opportunity of so doing without injuring his own reputation. He thought the best, the most refined, and the fairest way would be to send for him to his palace, and in the course of conversation point out to him that there were three different religions—one taught by Moses and accepted by the Jews, one taught by the Messiah and observed by the Christians, and the last promulgated by Mahomed and followed by the Turks. He would then ask the Jew which of the three was the true religion. Because, should the Hebrew reply that the religion of Moses or of Christ was the true one, he thereby decided at the same time, by implication, that the religion of Mahomed was false. If the Jew replied 'Yes, that is so,' then the governor would have him seized, and confiscate all his goods. On the other hand, if the Hebrew, out of respect or through fear, answered that Mahomed's religion was the true one, he would force him either to adopt Mahomedanism or lose his life. In that last case he would become master of all his goods.

The Jew, perceiving the force of the argument, sharpened his wits, and asked permission to tell the story of what had
happened some time before. There was a father, said the Hebrew, who had three [4] sons, heirs to the whole of his great riches, and among his jewels there was a precious stone of an unusual size, and therefore greatly valued. The three sons knew that their father had this precious stone; they also knew that it was beyond price, and that it could never be sold for its proper value. Thus each of them hoped to inherit it on his father's death. The latter, knowing his children's thoughts, and desirous of pleasing them all, so that at his death there should be no discord among them nor dispute, sent for a lapidary, and, showing him the stone, gave an order to make two imitation stones of the same size, and the same in every detail as the true one. The lapidary made these two stones so perfectly that when the three were placed together, it was impossible to tell which was the true one.

When he was at the point of death, the father sent for the best-beloved of his children, and made over to him the true stone, enjoining him to preserve secrecy, so that neither his brothers nor the governor of the town should trouble him. He acted in the same way with the other two sons, telling them to keep it a secret, and delivering to each an imitation stone, which he declared to be the true and only one. By this means all three were contented, each being persuaded that he had the true stone which he coveted. In the same manner, said the Hebrew to the Bassa (pasha), the Lord our God has sent forth three laws: one to the Jews, one to the Christians, and another to the Turks. Of these one is true, and the others false; but as to which is the true one we know nothing, each believing that it is the one he holds. God alone, who gave them, knows which it is, just as the father, who bestowed the stones, knew which was the true one. The Bassa (pasha), seeing the ingenuity with which the Jew had answered, thereby breaking the net in which he had resolved to catch him, praised him for his answer, and abandoned his designs against the goods of that sharp-witted merchant.

1. This story of the three precious stones is found, with variations, in Lessing's 'Nathan der Weise,' in Boccaccio, in the 'Gesta Romanorum,' and in Hebrew literature.
We remained seven days at Smyrna; after that we started with a caravan for the town of Burca (Brusa). On the road we suffered much from cold, owing to the large amount of snow, and we arrived in eight days in good health.

2. The place meant must be Brusa in Anatolia, lat. 40° 27″, long. 28° 58″ (Fullarton's 'Gazetteer of the World,' vol. ii., p. 93). It is about 240 miles north-east of Smyrna.
Chapter III

Of the Town of Burca

On our arrival at Burca, an ancient town of the Greeks, we were received by an Armenian called Anthoine Cheleby, who acted as governor of the town; and further seeing that we should have to wait a long time before we could meet with a caravan leaving for Persia, we quitted the town and went to live in the country house of the said Anthoine Cheleby. While our clothes were being carried out, under charge of one of our men called Charles, a Frenchman and a great musician, a couly (quili) [5] carrying one tin case disappeared. In this box was our money, also the best and the most valuable of what my master possessed. Great efforts were made to recover the things, but all we could find was the empty box, lying outside the town in the middle of some gardens. In this difficulty Anthoine Cheleby gave us whatever we had need of for the expenses of our journey.

During the fifty days that we remained in this town, I noticed the antiquity of the buildings, which in early times the Greeks had built in the form of fortresses—the walls, the bridges, the churches now converted by the Turks into mosques. Outside the town you see statues of stone lying on the ground, and these are defiled by the Turks when on their way to the mosques, which is a great affliction to the faithful. The town is a large one, inhabited by Turks, Armenians, and Greeks; but the Jews are in the greatest numbers, and they are very badly treated. In the middle of the town flows a stream which is used to water the surrounding gardens, and in addition there are several springs of clear water for household use and the seraglios; all this makes the place very healthy. There are hot baths for cleansing the body in the Turkish and Persian fashion. The men resort to them for their bath at five o'clock in the morning, and leave again at six o'clock. When the men have come out, a horn is sounded as a signal that the baths are vacant, and that the women can attend to take their bath. In attendance are barbers to serve and bathe the men, and also there are girls who perform the same duties for the women.
While we were in this town it happened that a young man, disguised as a woman, had been admitted to bathe the women; in the end it was discovered that he was a man, and after being well thrashed, he was taken before the criminal court, where he was condemned to death. Seeing the predicament he was in, he begged the court not to have him executed, but that he might be made a eunuch, that he should be forced to work at the baths, attending on the men and the women all his life without any pay. His request was compiled with.

After our departure we learnt that the said Anthoine Cheleby had been called to the court of the Grand Turk to give an account of his government. But he had foreseen a long time before that he would be thus summoned, and he had secretly transmitted all his wealth to Leghorn. In his house were excellent slaves—Poles, Georgians, Muscovites, and Abyssinians; and good horses in his stable, on which to take to flight at the first rumour. A Turkish horseman arrived from Constantinople to summon him, and entered his house immediately, and said to him with threats that he must come forth at once, that the Grand Signor required his attendance. The sharp-witted Armenian, without showing the least fear or astonishment, advanced towards the soldier, and greeting him with a smiling face and all the signs of amity and affection, desired that he would take some repose. In the morning they would set out together. Then, having taken his hand, he made him sit by his side. After a little conversation [6] he ordered several pieces of silk and some jewelled rings to be brought, and told him he had only to choose whatever pleased him. At the same time he directed a serving-boy to carry water to the latrine for ablutions in the Moorish fashion. He then quitted the horseman, and without delay mounted his horse, followed by slaves carrying off all that he had, which was kept ready prepared for this purpose. He took the road to Smyrna, which he reached in twenty-four hours, although usually six days are required. In the harbour was a Dutch vessel, to the captain of which Anthoine Cheleby addressed himself, promising to pay him double what he could gain by remaining anchored, if he would carry him and his men to Leghorn. The captain accepted the proposal, Anthoine Cheleby embarked, and they reached Leghorn. There the captain received in full what had been promised to him by the Armenian. At Leghorn
the latter built a bath for his own use, and the perpetuation of his memory among the people.

We pursued our route along with the caravan, which was a very large one. In it were several Armenian merchants, who looked after our food, also our horses, mules, and camels. We put up in their tents, where we were very well treated; but this was not done without an object, for the Armenians are very fond of their own interest. After some days we arrived at Tocat (Tokat).¹

¹ Tokat, in the pashalik of Sivas; it lies in lat. 40° 7' N. Caravans arrive in twenty days from Smyrna (Fullarton, 'Gazetteer'. vii. 123, 273). It is about 460 miles east of Brusa.
CHAPTER IV

OUR DEPARTURE FROM TOCAT

In this town, which lies among mountains, we remained eight days, after which we started again with the whole caravan, keeping our eyes ever open as we advanced, by reason of the robbers who often on these routes attack caravans. This is the reason why men travel armed, and at night sentinels are set on watch on every side, so that no one can come near the encampment. One day it happened that there was a great alarm, some horsemen having appeared who wanted to rob us. Twenty-two of our mounted men went out against them, and prepared to attack them; but the robbers took to flight. Still, one of them was caught; his horse, being much out of condition, could not gallop like the others. He was made prisoner.

The next day the robbers sent a message praying that their comrade might be released, and 10,000 pataques\(^1\) must be sent. If not, they would attack the caravan, and give quarter to no one. This news caused some apprehension in the caravan; but the leader of it, who was a brave man and experienced in these journeys, showed no fear, but, on the contrary, he sent word to them in a rage that he would come out in pursuit and leave not one alive. Thus the negotiations on both sides were confined to threats and defiance; and this went on for three days, during which the robber horseman was always guarded by two of our mounted men. After three days, one night, while the caravan was asleep, the thief escaped, and the quarrel came to an end.

In these journeys one has to be extremely vigilant, taking care never to go any distance from the caravan, for those who do so run a very great risk of falling [7] into the hands of clever thieves, and of losing both goods and life, as has happened to many. If any traveller intends to make this journey, he will do well to arm himself with a great deal of patience, and take good

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1. Apparently meant for the *pataca* (See Yule and Burnell, second edition, 683), ‘a dollar or piece of eight.’ Elsewhere (i. 113) Manucci says it was worth two rupees (about four shillings).
thought of the hardships and disagreeables which he will have to encounter on these roads. For it is not as in Europe, where there are inns in which all the necessaries and comforts requisite for life are to be found. When travelling in Turkey, you must sleep on the ground on a piece of carpet, or on the top of some bale of goods, where you suffer from the cold. Then, in the middle of your sleep, you are roused hurriedly to get ready and load up the camels and horses, and start on your way. During the day you are much troubled with the heat of the sun. Often it happens that the Turks seek you out and assail you with much abuse, and subject you to much indignity and shame. In these encounters it is wise to hang your head down like a Capuchin, and not open your mouth. At times it is necessary to bear slaps on the face with humility, and even endure beating with a stick, for fear of worse happening. For if a hand is raised by chance against a Turk such person is forthwith either forced to become a Mahomedan, or he is decapitated. The greatest favour accorded to him would be to let him go free after cutting off his hand. It is requisite to inform all who mean to travel in these regions that they must not wear anything of a green colour. Turks only may wear clothes of that colour. This remark applies to Turkey, for in Persia and in the Mogul Empire Christians can wear any colour they like. But the Turks are very particular about green, it having been liked and approved by the false prophet Mahomed.

No traveller need expect to find wine on the journey, for only water is drunk. In order never to be without water, it is necessary to have a bottle hanging from, or attached to, the beast on which one rides, and thus be able to have recourse to it in case of need. The bottles so used are easily procurable, and are sold ready for use. The merchants who go on these journeys also carry with them nets, with which they catch fresh fish. Many buy a kind of boiled sour milk, called jugurd in the language of the country. It is put in a say (?sieve), so that the water in it may drain away; and in that way it can be kept several days. We ate it several times mixed with water, putting in it biscuit or dry bread, or it was mixed with pelos (?‘pilao’). It is very

2. Cailé, milk artificially thickened (Littre).
palatable. When any dwellings are met with you can get eggs, butter, fowls, goats, and a few kinds of ripe fruit. But it is advisable to carry with you some dried fruit, meat fried in butter and packed in leather vessels; also sausages and puddings of salted beef, for it is at times impossible to obtain any food. And the best advice that I can give is, not to allow your curiosity to carry you so far as to look into the earthen houses of the country, or examine the peasants who dwell in them, for thereby one runs the risk of a thousand mishaps and evil fortunes [8].
CHAPTER V

OUR ARRIVAL AT ERZERUM, AND OUR JOURNEY TO ERIVAN

After having passed over this wearisome road in the midst of dangers and across swamps, we arrived at Erzerum,\(^1\) where are to be found many Armenians, for it is a town with a great trade, lying upon the Turkish frontier. There we remained six days. Good bread and plentiful supplies are found in the town, but the Turks there are dishonest boors; they examined our baggage with great severity (a common occurrence at this town, one of which all travellers complain). We were able, however, to conceal several presents that we were carrying for the King of Persia. At the end of the six days we left the town and continued our journey. After marching for two days, we came to a fortress built in the rock on the top of high ground; at its foot was a small town called Hassamcalga (Hasan-qala'h).\(^2\) When we had passed that place, and on the same day, the men of Erzerum examined our baggage a second time, to see if there were no merchandise hidden by us; and although we had very few things, they insisted on our paying customs dues a second time, finishing up by cursing us as they bade us farewell. However, we had made over to an Armenian the swords that we were taking as a present for the King of Persia; we had also confided to him a box in which were the letters of the embassy. This man had taken another route, and overtook us during the night at a place where we were free from the attempts of such-like people.

Next day we continued our march, and after going on for eight days, we reached a stream called the Aras,\(^3\) over which

1. Erzerum is in lat. 39° 53' N., long. 41° 18' E. (Fullarton's 'Gazetteer,' iii. 257).

2. Hasan-qala 'h, one of the strongest castles of Armenia, on a high mountain; it is thirty miles east of Erzerum, on the left bank of the Aras (Fullarton, 'Gazetteer,' iii. 826).

3. The Aras, or Arax (Araxes), flows into the Caspian Sea after an eastward course of 653 miles (Longman and Co.'s 'Gazetteer,' 61). The Armenian town of Zulfah is on the Aras, ninety-seven miles south-east of Erivan, and here there was formerly a bridge mentioned in the
one has to cross several times. In the end, by slow degrees, we arrived on Persian territory, where we had the consolation of being both freer and more honoured than in the country which we had just left. In due time we came to Erivan, a region which once on a time belonged to the Armenians, and thus there are still a great many of them living there. Erivan is situated just in front of a great mountain called Ararat. They say that it was on this mountain that the ark of Noah rested. At a distance of some ten leagues from the town the mountain looked as if entirely covered with ice on its summit, and when the sun shone on it, its appearance was splendid. There are [9] many brooks at the foot of this mountain, and the ground is covered throughout the year with sweet-smelling flowers. The town is enclosed by very thick and strong walls of earth, so that cannon would not be able to do as much damage as they would on a wall of stone, the reason being that the stones fracture while the earth does not. The country round is fresh, fertile, deilcious, abounding in oil and fruit. We halted for ten days.

history of Taimur's invasion. It is now a mere village with 650 inhabitants (Longman's 'Gazetteer,' 651). See Chardin, 'Travels into Persia' (folio, 1691), 347, 348. From a passage a little farther on (Part I., folio 23), we find that the party must have passed Zulfah on August 12, 1654 (N.S.).

4. Erivan, about 160 or 170 miles east of Erzerum. It is in lat. 42° 14' N., long. 44° 57' E., and since 1827 has been a part of Russian Armenia (Fullarton, 'Gazetter,' iii. 254). Aravat is about thirty-five miles south-west of Erivan. See also Chardin, 'Travels,' (1691), 332--344, where there is a plate giving a good view of Erivan.
CHAPTER VI

MY LORD BELLOMONT DECLARES HIMSELF
TO BE AN AMBASSADOR

We drew up at a spot near Erivan, whence the Armenians who were with us went on to inform the Cam (Khan), or governor of the place, that an ambassador had come from the King of England, Charles II., son of King Charles I., and was on his way to the King of Persia. On receiving this information, the Khan sent at once to compliment him on his arrival, and invited him to enter the town. On the following day, according to the usage in regard to all ambassadors who come to the King of Persia, we were well received in the greatest pomp by the governor, who gave a banquet, and presented to the ambassador four horses and several pieces of silk. Then he issued orders that every day our wants were to be carefully attended to; we and our animals were to be fed plentifully. We remained in this place ten days, receiving numerous visits and passing our time agreeably, the pleasure being enhanced by seeing ourselves in a land of plenty, and in the midst of a people more polite than those we had just left behind. When we were ready to make a start, the governor sent a horseman and several armed men on foot to accompany us, as it is the habit to do for all ambassadors. These men go on ahead and get ready whatever is required for food and repose in the villages. Thus we were relieved of all trouble and exertion.
CHAPTER VII

OUR ARRIVAL AT THE TOWN OF TAURIS

At the end of five days we arrived with our followers at [10] the town of Tauris (Tabriz).¹ This town is the same as the ancient Ecbatana, built by Arfaxon, King of the Medes, as may be read in the Book of Judith, chapter i. At present it is inhabited by people of various nationalities: there are many Armenian merchants; many carpets are manufactured, and also pieces of silk, velvet, and brocade. Although the governor was not actually present in the town, having gone to one of the provinces, my lord was acknowledged as an ambassador, and treated as is the custom for such. We dwelt for some thirty days in this place, where we equipped ourselves and got ready new clothes to be worn on our arrival at the court of the King of Persia. He was then at Qazvin (Qazwin).² We were forced to have new clothes, those we had being of Turkish pattern.

Before entering the town, I noticed an open place where stood two pillars which marked the distance that a stick had been thrown by Sultan Morad (Murad),³ the Grand Signor, when he came to take Tabriz. But it seems almost impossible that a man should be able to throw a stick so far. I noticed also that the town is fairly large, surrounded by gardens which contain fine trees yielding good fruit. There are many mulberry-trees, so that they have much silk, of which they make various kinds of stuff.

At the end of thirty days we started again, accompanied as before, and with the same retinue. As we went along, I saw

1. Tauris, now known as Tabriz. It is described by Chardin, ‘Travels’ (edition of 1691), pp. 352-370, and there is a plate giving a very fine view of the town. ‘In the days of Arphaxad, which reigned over the Medes in Ecbatane’ (Judith i, i). Modern scholars do not identify Tabriz with Ecbatane (see G. Rawlinson, ‘Herodotus,’ i. 227).


3. Probably the fourth Sultan of the name, who reigned 1623-1640. The name is the ‘Amurath’ of Shakespeare’s ‘Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds.’
that the land did not produce so many trees, nor was water so plentiful as in Turkey; for in Persia they are forced in many places to bring water from a great distance through underground channels. They make big holes to see if there is running water beneath, and whether it is sufficient. In the open country there are certain dry plants on which the sheep subsist and grow fat. They have very long and broad tails, from which much fat is obtained, and their wool is excellent. The skins of these sheep are very soft, and the wool curly; it is usual to make fur coats from them, and also hats. I have also noticed in Persia that there is no firewood, and in place of it they burn cow-dung, also the droppings of camels, horses, asses, and sheep [11].
CHAPTER VIII

ARRIVAL IN THE CITY OF CASBIN (QAZWIN), AND HOW WE WERE SENT FOR TWICE TO THE ROYAL PALACE

At the end of thirteen days we arrived at the city of Oazwin, where the king, Xaabas [Shah 'Abbas], was. We were conducted to a house made ready for the purpose, and after three days a captain came, accompanied by several cavalry soldiers, to visit the ambassador on behalf of the chief minister of the king. He presented congratulations on our arrival, with many compliments and offers of service. Subsequently the ambassador paid a visit to the chief minister, called Etmadolat ['Azamat-ud-daulah], which means 'Modesty of Wealth,' by whom he was well received with many polite speeches and compliments, in which the Persians are never wanting. Between them there was much conversation in the Turkish language, the chief object of which was directed to finding out what presents we had brought for the King of Persia; secondly, to know the ambassador's rank, so that the proper honours might be paid to his person. Hearing from the Armenians that he (Bellomont) was of a great family, 'Azamat-ud-daulah sent to Smyrna to obtain information whether or not he were of the great family that he claimed to be. Meanwhile, after eight days from our arrival, we were sent for the royal palace, into which we went through numerous gates, ending in a large courtyard, in the midst of which stood two beautiful trees full of shade. Beneath them were two lions fastened with heavy

1. At this point the original ceases to be in French, and is continued in Portuguese.

2. Shah ‘Abbas II.’ succeeded 1642, died 1667. The presence of the court at Qazwin is confirmed by the news in a letter from Aleppo, dated March 19, 1654/1655, printed in the Mercurus Politicus, No. 265, July 5 to 12, 1655, pp. 5466, 5467. The Shah arrived there on the 10th Rajab, 1064 H. (May 27, 1654), Qisas-ul-Khaqan of Wali Quli, Shamlu, British Museum, Additional MS. 7,656, fol. 131b.

3. The true meaning is 'Pomp of the State.' Schefer, 'Estat de la Perse,' 41 (Paris, 1890), transliterates it as 't'imad-ud-daulah' (Trusted One of the State), which may be the true reading.
golden chains; before each lion was a large golden basin full of water. Also below each tree stood a well-dressed man with long moustachios reaching to his shoulders, in his hand a short spear all of gold, with his face turned towards the royal seat. We went on our way, and next came to an open hall which had twenty beautiful gilt pillars, ornamented with many kinds of floral designs and many-coloured enamels. Here we seated ourselves in the expectation that the King would come out.

An hour afterwards the King arrived in great state, whereupon all rose to their feet, and crossed their hands on their breasts, and made a bow with lowered heads. This, too, was done by the ambassador, seeing that this was the custom of that court. Then, approaching the king, he delivered to him the letter, which the king took with his own hand and placed in that of the chief minister, who stood at his side.

The king seated himself in his place, and the master of ceremonies, who was close to the ambassador, pointed out to him his place, which was the fifth on the right hand [12]. He was to sit there. On taking his seat, he presented a breast-plate, a head-piece (*morion*), and sword-mountings, all of fine work made at Paris. All these were accepted by the king, who looked at the ambassador with a pleased face, saying to him that he was delighted at his coming. All this was spoken through an interpreter, an Armenian, who was in our employ. Then he asked after the health of the King of England, inquiring if he had any brothers, if he were married, how old he was, and whether he was loved by his people. To all these questions the ambassador replied, and after the lapse of one hour the king rose, saying to the ambassador that he should take rest and recover from his fatigues. Meanwhile he forwarded to Espahao (Isfahan) the letter brought by the ambassador in order to have it translated by a Capuchin friar named Frey Raphael Dumans, a well acquainted with the Turkish and Persian languages, a priest of great virtuts, loved by the king and all the court.

The letter having been translated, the king sent to the ambassador an invitation to come to court, where he gave him

4. The Père Raphael du Mans (Jacques Dutertre), Capuchin, born in 1613, went to Persia in 1644, and died at Isfahan on April 1, 1696. He is the author of 'Estat de la Perse en 1660,' edited by Ch. Schefer (Paris, 1890).
a banquet at his own table. It was given in the hall already described, which was decorated with rich carpets, and seats covered with rich brocade, and handsome cushions. In the assembly was the king seated in the midst of ten persons. That is to say, on his right hand ‘Azamat-ud-daulah, then three of the great officials, and in the fifth place the ambassador, and on his left hand other five men, who were the chief generals then actually present at court. Of all these, the first was ‘Azamat-ud-daulah, which means Great Minister of State; the second was Sepacalar (Sipah-salar), who is the commander-in-chief; the third Corchy-Bassi (Qurchi-bashi), the general of infantry; the fourth Couler Agassi (Qular-aqasi), who commands the king’s slaves. All these are noblemen. The fifth was Nazer (Nazir), who is the major domo of the royal household; the sixth Divan Begui (Diwan-begi), who is chief justice over the nobles of the kingdom; the seventh was Topchy Bassi (Topchi-bashi), who is the commander of the artillery; the eighth Cachiq Agasi Bassi (Qashiq-aqasi-bashi), who is captain of the royal guard and master of the ceremonies; the ninth Cedar (Sadr), who is the judge in all cases of the law; the tenth, Vaquia-navis (Waqi’ah-navis), who is the Chief Secretary of State. Below the royal seat, which was raised the height of a foot, there were on each side thirty persons, all men of rank and position.

They placed in front of the king twelve large basins of gold filled with polas (pulao) of various kinds, and four dishes of different roast meats, six porcelain vessels holding various other meats, and several boxes having their covers ornamented with all sorts of precious stones. Each of those who were on the two sides of the king had the half of what the king himself had placed before him; and the sixty who were further down, away from the king’s side, had each of them four basins of pulao. At this banquet wine was absent [13], and although the king knew how to drink a drop or two, on this occasion he refrained as a matter of dignity. When the first course was finished, the second was brought, consisting of much fruit and numerous sweet dishes.

The reader will be pleased to learn what pulao means. Pulao is rice cooked with many spices, cloves, cinnamon, mace,

pimento, cardamoms, ginger, saffron, raisins, and almonds, to which is added the flesh of sheep, or fowls, or goats, and the whole dressed with plenty of butter. They make these pulaos of many sorts and of different flavours.

When the feast had ended, the king rose and said to the ambassador that he might start for the city of Isfahan,\(^6\) for which he himself would set out, in a few days. This sending off of milord was because we were waiting for the answer from Smyrna, whether it was true that he had been sent as an ambassador by the King of England, Charles II., and whether he was of the rank that he claimed. At the end of six months the answer came, as I shall mention presently. Meanwhile we had spent fifty days in this city of Qazwin, and every day there came to us food in abundance for every one of our people, with sufficient wine, and whatever was necessary for our animals.

The city of Qazwin stands in the midst of several mountains; it has sufficient water, many gardens, and much fruit, a fitting place for the holiday resort of a king, however great he may be, where he can go out after game, with which the country is well supplied.

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6. This relegation of the ambassador's business to Isfahan is borne out by the letter in the Mercurius Politicus already referred to.
CHAPTER IX

WE QUIT QAZWIN AND ARRIVE AT ISFAHAN

We came out of Qazwin to start for Isfahan, and neither at the
time of leaving nor during the journey were the accustomed
supplies delivered to us. None the less, we managed to make
our journey in sufficient comfort, and in twelve days we reached
Isfahan, where there was made over to us as a dwelling a large
house with a lovely garden. It was the property of the general
of the king’s artillery, who was then in Qazwin. There we fed
ourselves at our own expense.

Finally, at the end of three months, when winter had passed,
the king arrived at Isfahan,¹ and we were obliged to leave that
house where the general lived, and they made over to us another.
After a few days the ambassador sent a message to ‘Azamat-ud-
daulah that he desired to pay him a visit, but the answer
returned was that in these days, the king being newly arrived,
he was very much occupied, and he (the ambassador) must have
a little patience, and that notice [14] would be given of the time
when they could meet.

Thus matters were kept in suspense till the answer from
Smyrna should arrive. Finally, they learnt that, without any
doubt, the Belmont (Lord Bellomont) had been sent as ambas-
sador, and that he was of the rank he asserted. Three months
after the king’s arrival at Isfahan ‘Azamat-ud-daulah sent for
the ambassador, and held with him a long conversation. I was
present the whole time, quite close to the ambassador, who put
me forward as his son.

In the speech he made he (the ambassador) told how the
king, Charles I., was unjustly beheaded by his subjects, who into
his place had raised a man of low origin, banishing King
Charles II. and his brother James from the kingdom and per-

¹. The Shah passed the Nauroz, or Vernal Festival (March 21,
1655), at Qum, and reached the capital on the 9th Rajab, 1065 H.
(May 15, 1655). See Qisas-ul-khaqan of Wali Quli, Shamlu, British
Museum, Additional MS. 7,656, fol. 132a, 132b.
secuting them. He had, therefore, come to His Majesty of Persia to ask for help, in accordance with the friendship which had always existed between the crowns of England and of Persia.

‘Azamat-ud-daulah asked in what way could his king give aid such as he required. Then the ambassador replied that he should call to mind the word given long ago by the King of Persia to afford held to the King of Great Britain, should occasion arise. That also he still owed for the expenses incurred by the King of England when he sent a fleet to take the fortress of Orumus (Ormuz) from the hands of the Portuguese, and made it over to Persia. It was also most desirable that he should assist King Charles II. at this conjuncture, by expelling from his dominions all the English who were partisans of the rebellion, and compel them to abandon their trade. By thus doing the praise of the generous acts of the famous Persian king would go through all the world. ‘Azamat-ud-daulah having listened to this reasoning with a solemn countenance, replied with a smile that he would report to the king all that had been said, and would give an answer afterwards. With this ended the interview.
Chapter X

How We Went a Third Time to Court

When eight days had elapsed from the visit to the wazir, the ambassador was invited to a grand banquet in a beautiful palace that the King had recently completed. At its gateway stood the large and handsome cannon which were captured at Ormuz. They were near a large reservoir of nice appearance and very pleasant. At this second feast [15] which the king gave him, the ambassador was treated with great honours in deference to his embassy, 'Azamat-ud-daulah and a number of officers proceeding to the gates of the palace to meet him, and continuing in his suite until he arrived before the king. The latter caused his guest to be seated in the second place—that is to say, 'Azamat-ud-daulah came first, then the ambassador, then three of the king's officers; there being on the left hand five other persons, the greatest of the generals. The seat was larger than in Qazwin, with greater richness, and the room more beautiful. In it were sundry officials and captains, who stood.

There was not much conversation. The king only asked the ambassador whether the climate of Persia suited him; to which the ambassador replied that after all the climate of Persia had much resemblance to that of England, by reason of the frosts and snow that it had. I was standing behind the ambassador, and the king asked who I was. The ambassador answered that he looked upon me as his son. The king said to him that if he chose to make me over to him he would treat me very well, and thus there would be a memorial of him left at the court. The ambassador said that if I were in reality his son he would make me over to his majesty; but as my parents had placed me in his care, he could not part with me.

This was the conversation that we had until, after one hour had passed, the table was laid; it was much more imposing and more highly adorned than the one at Qazwin. The place where the king was seated was larger, and the carpets of greater value and more beautiful. The king's whole table vessels were of gold with covers, having handles ornamented with precious stones. In the lower seats were on each side fifty men, all
nobles, including a few men of learning. Among these the king ordered me to take my seat. Each person had four plates full of pulao, also various dishes of roast and fried meat, and some of pickles. I noticed that all these men were of large frame, tall, and well made, with huge moustachios, which some of them had twisted round their ears, so that they might not fall on their shoulders. All were well clad in rich stuffs, and wore enormous turbans. Many of them ate voraciously.

The first course being finished, they set before us the second, consisting of a great quantity of fruit, which in Isfahan is very plentiful. This course lasted two hours, and at the end of it the king rose and entered the female apartments. 'Azamat-ud-daulah conducted the ambassador to the end of the room, holding him by the hand, saying that nothing should be wanting on his part to do him service, with many amicable speeches, in which this kind of people are never deficient.
Chapter XI

[16]. Of the present that the king sent to the ambassador, and of the fourth time of our being at court

Some days elapsed after the above invitation, when ‘Azamat-ud-daulah sent to the ambassador from the king fifty pieces of gold and silver brocade, velvet, and various-coloured silk, four pairs of handsome carpets, and 2,000 patacas,° the which arrived just at the right time; for the ambassador had run into debt with certain Armenian merchants, and with this money he paid his debt. After a very few days the ambassador went to the house of ‘Azamat-ud-daulah, where he remained a long time in consultation, the subject being the following.

The ambassador demanded a favourable reply, saying that it was necessary for him to leave. ‘Azamat-ud-daulah made use of many friendly expressions, but was not desirous of answering the proposition laid before him. By putting questions he feigned an eagerness to know whether England was a large kingdom, how many men it could place in the field, if there were a route to it by land. He appeared to be much amazed that all the Kings of Europe, being themselves Christian, did not afford succour to the King of England.

The ambassador replied to all this, but chiefly to this last question. He said if the King of Persia would pay the money that he owed, the King of England could then, without other assistance, obtain possession of his kingdom, and seize his enemies. Seeing the stiff answer of the ambassador, ‘Azamat-ud-daulah succeeded in sending him away with pleasant words.

During the time the ambassador was in Isfahan, the king decided to have a parade of his armed force, and make a display of his power. For this affair he sent an invitation to the ambassador. We repaired to the very large royal hall, containing forty pillars, which has an outlook on the great square. In this hall the king takes his seat but rarely, and only when he has a review of his cavalry. These reviews are held twice a year; each time they last three days.

1. Yule, 683, the dollar or piece of eight. Elsewhere Manucci makes this equal to two rupees in India, or about four shillings.
We went one day only. We saw the cavalry enter at one side of the plain and march out at the other. The soldiers, forty thousand in number, were mostly clothed in mail, and bore maces; some squadrons had lances, others bows and arrows, others matchlocks. All were mounted on good and swift horses, and they carried standards bearing devices. At the end of the review we saw two Persians bound each on a camel, with their bowels protruding. Their offence was causing a disturbance after they had drunk too much wine. These men were conducted thus through the city until they died.
CHAPTER XII

REPLY OF 'AZAMAT-UD-DAULAH TO THE AMBASSADOR ON THE PART OF THE KING

The ambassador, although somewhat doubtful of obtaining an answer such as he desired, never desisted from importuning 'Azamut-ud-daulah, reminding him that it was close upon a year that he had been in Isfahan without making the smallest advance in the negotiations, for which he had come so far. Azamat-ud-daulah put him off from day to day. At length, tired out by so many remonstrances, he made up his mind to give an answer. With this view he sent a message to the ambassador, requesting him to be good enough to come to his house, as he wanted to speak to him.

We repaired to the house of 'Azamut-ud-daulah, who received the ambassador with many gracious words and much politeness. Seating themselves, they began a long conversation to the following effect: 'Azamut-ud-daulah began a very long way off by remarking that the King of Persia was a great friend of the King of England, and cherished for him the same amity that he had felt towards the former kings, his ancestors; he greatly desired to assist that king, chiefly owing to the great necessity of the case. This was the reason that he had postponed his reply, while he searched for and considered ways in which he could give assistance. But he could find no manner of so doing. The Persian cavalry and the rest of their troops could not be sent, by reason of the great distance, by the land route. On the road were many kingdoms through which they must pass. Thus it was impossible to be of any use by sending an armed force. Then he had sought for some means of helping him by way of the sea; but to send a great fleet he saw was extremely difficult. In Persia they had no ships, and, should they attempt to construct them, they had not sufficient materials for the purpose.

Another reason for the long delay in giving an answer was this: They had used the interval to find out from the nations of Europe—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and even the English themselves—whether they could purchase any ships in which to
send reinforcements to the king. But, in spite of all the offers they had made, they could not obtain what they wanted. The ambassador knew well that this was all a pretence, but he kept his temper, although showing signs of impatience at all this long-winded and superfluous talk.

When 'Azamat-ud-daulah had finished this long speech, the ambassador began as follows: First of all, he expressed his thanks for the great efforts that the King of Persia and 'Azamat-ud-daulah had taken to assist the King of England. Then, half making fun of 'Azamat-ud-daulah's many words, he said to him that he himself had a much easier method of remedying all this, without giving trouble to the Persian monarch, and without fatiguing the Persian soldiers, so famous throughout Europe. His plan was that the King of Persia should pay, cash down, the money due on the bill owing to the King of England. He had not come all that long journey in search of cavalry, nor a fleet, nor ships, but of a debt in arrears. If he would excuse him, he would say a word or two frankly. To this 'Amazat-ud-daulah replied that he might speak as freely as he liked.

Upon this the ambassador continued that all that had been said by him showed that his king had no intention of paying the debt. 'Azamat-ud-daulah, in a deceptive manner and smiling, said that his king wished to pay, but, seeing that the amount demanded was very large, it would require a great number of beasts of burden, that it would be necessary to pass through other kingdoms, that possibly he might be robbed on his way. Nor was the difficulty met by saying that he could carry the amount by sea, for all the world knew what risks were run at sea, both of being attacked and of being wrecked, whereby the whole amount would be lost.

The ambassador's answer was that, if they gave him the money, he knew quite well how to take care of it and remove it in safety. If they paid over to him a sufficient sum, the King of England, his master, would have no other demand to make. He would hold himself satisfied, according to the orders he had received, as set forth in the letters that he had presented. This he said with a certain show of emotion, for by this time he saw that their object was to pay him in words.

'Azamat-ud-daulah hung his head down and affected a mild expression of countenance, then said in a low voice: 'Necessity is not the most perfect of judges.' He added that, as to banish-
ing from the Persian realm the English traders, that could not be. For the king had allowed them willingly to enter his territory—the land of Persia was free to all—and the king declined to turn out anyone unless he had been guilty of an offence. All the same, they would grant him (Bellomont) leave to eject them from the kingdom himself by his own forces. The king would back up neither one side nor the other.

Finally, being wearied out, the ambassador said, with a certain amount of passion, that he had not looked for such an answer from a king of such fame in the world, especially after the Persian kingdom had received aid from the King of England, at great cost to the latter. 'Azamat-ud-daulah did not change countenance, but endeavoured to pacify the ambassador, saying that such events were sent from above, that never was all that we asked of God granted us, that in due time God would bring to mind his king. Encouraging him and consoling him with kind and soft words, he added that if he were in any difficulty for expenses, he could send to his interpreter [19], who would help him.

Hearing this, the ambassador said not a single word, but rose hastily, came forth, and returned home. When he had arrived there, he by-and-by gave an order for the sale of some pieces of cloth and some carpets which still remained to provide for our road expenses. The above conversation was in Turkish, which I could already speak and understand sufficiently. Listening to everything with the greatest attention, I admired the way in which 'Azamat-ud-daulah was able to evade the aggressive answers of the ambassador without betraying any sign of ill-humour.
Chapter XIII

How the King of Persia Made Over to the Ambassador
A Letter for the King of England

The firm words of the ambassador were the cause of their giving
him his leave to depart after a brief delay. With this intent,
eight days after the above-mentioned conversation, he was sent
for to court on behalf of the king, when we were given another
feast like the one which I have described, and in the same place.
At the end of the banquet, 'Azamat-ud-daulah took the ambas-
sador by the hand and led him in front of the royal seat at a
distance of two or three paces, and with his face towards the king.
The ambassador was on the left side of 'Azamat-ud-daulah. The
latter put his hand into his pocket and drew forth a bag of gold
brocade, in which was a letter. Lifting this bag with both hands,
he placed it on his head, making a profound reverence to the
king, bowing his head most deeply. Then he handed the said
bag to the ambassador, saying that his king sent that letter to
the King of England. He was directed to make obeisance as he
had seen the other do. During this short speech 'Azamat-ud-
daulah held half of the bag in his hand, while the other half
was in that of the ambassador. As soon as the brief speech was
ended, the ambassador drew the bag from the hands of 'Azamat-
ud-daulah, and quickly turned his back, and without any sort
of bow, held it out contemptuously to the interpreter. This man
at once hastened up to receive the letter with both hands; for
the motion made by the ambassador showed that if he did not
hurry near, the ambassador would throw the bag at him.

Then, without any civility, or any sort of bow, he left
'Azamat-ud-daulah standing where he was and went out, his
head high, while the king sat with cast-down eyes as if [20] he
saw nothing of what was passing. All those present remained
in silent wonder at such boldness. I was quite close to the
ambassador, and came out, notwithstanding, with some amount
of dread, anticipating that the king would send out some order
to have us killed. But we were not interfered with.

On arriving home, we took measures to prepare ourselves
without delay for continuing our journey. In fact, we did so
at the end of nine days, and the ambassador not being provided with sufficient funds for our expenses, he applied to the head of the English factory at Isfahan, who was called Mestre Jhon (Mr. Young), a very short man, but most generous and very liberal, as I made note of from the feasts and offerings which several times he had given to the said ambassador.

1. 'Mestre Jhon' is identified by Mr. W. Foster as Henry Young, who was at Isfahan in 1655. He left it on September 26 for Gomboon (Bandar 'Abbas), and sailed for Surat on November 20 in the *Diamond*.
CHAPTER XIV

OF THE CITY OF ISFAHAN, AND OF CERTAIN EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED THERE

The city of Isfahan is very large, situated in a great plain at the foot of some low hills. It has four canals of water, which flow through the midst of it, and these serve for irrigating the gardens. These canals issue from a river which flows between Julpha (Zulfah) and Isfahan; its name is Senderuth (Zindah-rud); over it are four bridges somewhat distant from each other. Of the four, two are especially handsome—namely, the one on the road from Isfahan to Julpha (Zulfah). You approach it by a long and wide raised way, adorned on both sides with the great and beautiful walled gardens of the king, and with high trees, called in Persian chenar (chanar), and in European languages, planes. In the midst thereof flows one of the aforesaid canals of water, which fills various reservoirs for the use of the said gardens, and goes on its course until it reaches again the river from which it was taken. Horses are ridden on the raised way. There are many seats where the Persians imbide tobacco from crystal 'guriguris',¹ called by them 'caliao' (qualiyain), which are long and narrow-necked circular flasks filled with water, having a vessel of tinned copper or of silver in the shape of an open flower of the water-lily² stuck into its (the flask's) mouth, and filled with tobacco. With this they sit, telling stories until late, sometimes, without exaggeration, as many as five or six [21] thousand of them.

The second bridge, which is the finest of them all, is called the bridge of Xiras (Shiraz), thus named because when going from Isahan to Shiraz you cross over it. This bridge consists of three stories, besides the chief one, which is in the middle. The king goes there sometimes with his harem, and he can

1. Probably from gurgur, a whisper, in allusion to the sound made by the water-pipe. The Indian form of gurguri.
2. The text has nolifero aberto, which I take to be the Persian word nilufar, a water-lily.
descend to the water without being seen. By all these stories you can cross from one side of the river to the other. The water runs over dressed stones, made artificially high or low, so as to produce waves pleasing to behold.\(^3\)

I noticed that the houses of Isfahan and those throughout Persia, seen from the front, are not pleasing, being all made of clay; but they are lovely inside, and highly decorated. They have both large and small gardens, with good fruit-trees—that is to say, pears, apples, peaches, apricots, mulberries, sweet and sour quinces, like the apples of Europe, vines of Boas Vuaas, and vineyards of Vuaas,\(^4\) grapes without stones, which are called “quiximis” (kishmish), many kinds of plums—and all the varieties of flowers that grow in Europe; for the Armenians are very fond of growing European flowers, and present them to the Persian nobles. The Persians, as also the Moguls, are fond of flowers and perfumes.

In front of the royal palace is a large plain, where throughout the year stand fruit-sellers’ booths, and a large quantity of exquisite melons. Here they drink coffee and smoke tobacco; the place is always full of people going and coming. Here are to be seen dancers, wrestlers, and other performers. In one corner of this open square is a palace where musical instruments are played; and there stands the clock found by them in the fortress of Ormuz, which they preserve as a memorial of their victory over the Portuguese. The city was always clean, due to the energy of the gardeners, because with what was removed from the streets they manured their gardens. They collect most industriously the sewage from the houses for the same purpose. This is a great help to keeping the air pure, by not allowing dirt to accumulate in the city. There are also many baths where the body may be washed. The soul also profits (as they believe), for when they wash themselves they imagine themselves to be absolved from their sins. Ablution serves among the Mahomedans—and speaking always with due reverence—like confession and absolution among us Catholics.

During the time we were at Isfahan rumours were current to the effect that the Great Mogul meant to come against the

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3. There is a good description and two views of these bridges in Chardin’s ‘Voyages on Perse’ (Amsterdam, 1711, ten volumes, 12mo.), vol. viii, p. 220, and Plates XLVII, XLVIII.

4. ‘Boal Vua,’ a kind of grape?
fortress of Candar (Qandahar), which is held by the King of Persia in defiance of the Mogul. For this reason they began to prepare to march out to encounter him; then the spies brought them the news that this year the Great Mogul would not come.

It happened in those days that the son of an officer, being twenty-two [22] years of age, was in attendance on the court. He fell in love with a lady in the palace and sent her several presents. When the king was told of this, he ordered the man to be beheaded. As the young man was actually at court, he got word of the king's order, and returned home with all the haste he could. There, with his own hands, he totally castrated himself, and without delay sent the severed member in a covered golden vessel to the King, with a request that he would chastise that which had committed the offence. The king, with regard to this deliberate act of his, pardoned his life, and gave him the title of the "Valiant Eunuch".

In the city are two factories, one of the English, the other of the Dutch. There are also four churches, one of the Portuguese Augustinians, which the present king caused to be entirely gilded at his own expense, and he went there several times to see our ceremonial. Another church belongs to the barefooted Carmelites, another to the Jesuits, another to the Capuchins.

There are also in the city many mosques, among them a dome with two tombs, which are much venerated. The door of this dome is opened only once a year, on the occasion of a great festival, to which flock people from different provinces on the appointed day. One tomb they assert to be that of 'Ali, the other they state to be that of his sons Assen (Hasan) and Ossen (Hasian), who are revered as martyrs. Others declare they are tombs of the companions of Muhammad, although he had no Court or courtiers.

Once during the night, when the king, Shah Abbas, was lying asleep, he woke all of a sudden, having dreamt that he had seen a vision. Calling to the captain of his guard, he gave him an order to open at once the door of the dome and both the tombs, and after looking with great care at what was in them, make a detailed report of his inspection. The captain of the guard caused both the tombs to be opened, and found in them two dead Capuchin priests, with their clothes and their bodies equally intact. The captain stood in amazement, and ordered the tombs and the dome to be closed up as before. He reported
at once to the king what he had seen. Listening attentively to
the story, the king pronounced these words: 'None can know the
secrets of God, unless He Himself'. This event remained a secret
and the same veneration was continued as before.

At the distance of a league or a little less from Isfahan is an
inhabited place called Julpha (Zulpha), where great numbers of
Armenians live, all merchants, with their churches. These
people dwelt long ago in ancient Zulfah, upon the banks of the
river Aras, three days' journey before you come to Tabriz. It
was there that I saw an eclipse of the sun in the middle of the
day[23], beholding the stars as in a dark night.5 They left that
place with the permission of Shah 'Abbas, coming with their
families and all their belongings to found this new Zulfah on the
farther bank of the river Zindah-rud, and there they dwell in
complete liberty, having sufficient facilities in the way of houses,
gardens full of fruit, and water with which to irrigate them.
This water flows in canals through the middle of the streets, which
are adorned on both sides with great trees.

5. I am indebted to Dr. A. M. W. Downing, of the Nautical
Almanac Office, for the information that a total eclipse of the sun
occurred in 1654, August 12 (New Style). The central line crossed the
east shore of the Black Sea at about lat. 45°, and the west shore of the
Caspian Sea at about lat. 40°. It would, therefore, have been visible
as a considerable partial eclipse in the region indicated (i.e. Zulfah in
Armenia).
CHAPTER XV

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PERSIAN KINGDOM, AND OF SOME STRANGE EVENTS

The kingdom of Persia was very well governed, having no rebellions or treasons, neither robbers nor highwaymen on the roads, as there are in some kingdoms, chiefly those of the Turks. For Shah 'Abbas took the greatest care that the land was well governed, and allowed no wrong to be done. This king was much loved and esteemed by his people; not only did they love him, they adored him as a saint. The reason was that his family was descended from 'Ali, who was married to the daughter of Muhammad. The Persians say (though the Turks and the Moguls decline to concede this) that 'Ali succeeded Muhammad as prophet. But this was not the sole cause that he was esteemed and venerated as a holy man; it was also his singular qualities which made him venerable.

The king was a man of good stature, well nourished, broad in the shoulders, slender in the waist, a fine horseman, of a bright countenance, strong in his resolves, and a lover of wine. With reference to this, I may recount how he employed a golden vessel called Azarpexa (*Hazār-peshah*), which means 'a thousand kinds.' It would hold two *canadas*¹ and a half of wine. When the king wanted to have a joke with anyone, or impose on him a slight punishment, he would force him to drink in his presence the measure of wine contained in the said vessel.

This he did on several occasions to the French goldsmiths who were in his service, when they did not make the enamel work, rings, jewels, and clocks to please him. He would threaten them that if they did not execute the work as perfectly as he wanted it, he would have to double their punishment. For this reason the goldsmiths, before finishing off the work made over to them, carried it many times into the king's presence to see

1. *Canada* is a measure of liquid holding three English pints. The quantity was thus seven and a half pints, nearly a gallon. Tavernier also mentions *Hazār-peshah*. 
if it met with his approval or not. For it is no joke to drink at once so much wine.

In my time there were six French goldsmiths, and the king showed to them great love and affection, giving [24] to each of them 150 patacas¹ every year in addition to food, of which they had abundance, and also presents, which he gave them when he was pleased with the work that they did. Many a time when he was happy he would send for them and make them sit in his presence, and, drinking wine himself, he made them drink too, though not out of the 'thousand kinds.' Conversing with them, he would ask as to the state of things among the kings of Europe—how they fought battles, and many different questions. He took delight in hearing the doings of the King of France, and the mode in which he carried on war; he also liked to hear from the mouths of these goldsmiths witty sayings, and showed singular affection to Europeans.

For this reason it is, I believe, that in Persia there is liberty, if you so choose, to put and reply to questions on matters of the Christian religion between Christians and Persians, without fear of being interfered with on that account. The reader should understand that among the laws of the Mahomedans is one, that to all questions about religion put to them by Christians they should answer by the sword. This rule is followed most rigorously in Turkey, Arabia, in the realm of the Mogul, also in Balq (Balkh), Bocara (Bukhara), among the Osbeques (Uzbaks) and Patanis (Pathans). Thus it is impossible for anyone to utter a word there against the Mahomedan superstition without the chance of losing his head. But in Persia you may use arguments, make inquiry, and give answer in matters of religion without the least danger.

The men of Persia are big, very strong, and fairly good-looking, most subtle in mind, and lovers of music, scents, and flowers. They are of a generous disposition and quick-witted, nor do they fail in becoming good soldiers, intrepid and crafty. With all this, they hold their king in such great esteem that no one makes so bold as to speak against him, or to evade obeying his orders. When he sends an order to behead any grandee, no one raises the least opposition or utters the least contradiction. The orders of the king are considered to be the orders of God; and thus, when a report arrives that the king has sent

2. This would be about £30.
for the head of any governor or other official, the culprit issues forth to meet the executioner of the royal orders, and offering himself for the stroke, requests him to carry his head into the presence of his king, which he gives as a sacrifice to the royal commands.

It happened about this time, when he was in Isfahan, that Shah 'Abbas received a report that Xaabascan (Shabash Khan), governor of Tabriz, a man of great stature and much strength, commanding twelve thousand horsemen, had been guilty of an omission of some consequence. The king issued an order that a soldier should be sent to cut off his head. When the emissary arrived the governor was giving public audience; the man laid hold of his sword, and called out that the king demanded his head. Shabash Khan, without any remonstrance, presented his body, and putting down his head, told the soldier to cut it off. The man struck [25] a blow, but Shabash Khan, being of a large build, it did not go very far, and only wounded him. In a rage, the governor raised his hand and gave the man a heavy back-stroke, by which several of his teeth were knocked out, exclaiming that the king had ordered him to cut off his head, but not to torture him. Holding down his head anew, he directed the man to deliver a proper cut, and then with two more blows his head was severed. It was carried to the king's presence, where orders issued, as was the custom, that it should be shown for three days in the public square as an example and warning for others. Now I will recount some other events, which will give to the reader some idea of the strict justice done by Shah 'Abbas, and the quickness of his mind in unmasking impostors.

There happened during the time that I was in Isfahan another remarkable instance by which you can gauge the attention which Shah 'Abbas devoted to deciding justly. There were two rich men, one of whom had, during many months, run up an account with the other, there having been no opportunity of a settlement between them. One of them was called Mahomed Raza (Muhammad Riza), and he owed a large sum of money to the other, who passed as an upright man, and his name was Miza Esmail (Mirza Isma'il). Seeing that they could not come to an agreement, they decided that each should write down his argument and his version of the account. Folding up the papers, each man was to write his name on his own documents; then they were to be enclosed together in a bag sealed with each
man's seal and those of several witnesses. So said, so done. The good Mirza Isma'il, not suspecting the deceit of his debtor. Muhammad Riza, left the bag in his hands, with the understanding that when Shah 'Abbas returned from the chase, the said bag should be made over to the king, praying him to give orders for judging the cause. The agreement was that after the judge nominated by the king had given his finding, not another word should be said.

Muhammad Riza had time, before the king returned from hunting, to cut open the bag; and withdrawing the papers of Mirza Isma'il, in which were weighty and convincing reasons, he substituted for those writings and accounts other papers bearing his creditor's name. Then, sending for a workman, the bag was resewn with such neatness that no one could believe it had been cut.

The king returned from his hunting, when both men appeared in his presence and delivered to him the bag, with the prayer that he would graciously order a speedy decision to be given. The king, being eager that justice should be done, as will be seen further from a case that I will mention later on, sent at once for one of his ministers [26] named Fazil Beg (Fazil Beg)—that is to say, 'Learned Person,' of whom he had a high opinion as being a disinterested and very truthful man. To him the bag was delivered.

Coming forth in company of the two petitioners, Fazil Beg repaired to his house. Then, showing the bag to the two litigants, and to the witnesses called in for the purpose, he asked them if it was exactly the same as when they saw it before. All of them answered that there was no difference, that it was the same, with the same seals and the same arrangement. He then sent them away, and they returned to their homes.

Mirza Isma'il expected that Fazil Beg would send for him and decide in his favour, therefore he took no further steps; but the cunning Muhammad Riza did not allow a day to pass without importuning the judge to end the history and the suit; because, as he asserted, the case was very clear that, so far from his being the debtor of Mirza Isma'il, the latter owed him (M. Riza) a large sum of money. Thus he went on every day, until at last Fazil Beg, having well studied the papers, arrived at the finding that Mirza Isma'il was the debtor. He therefore sent for him.
On his arrival, he (Fazil Beg) told him he was much astonished that a man held to be truthful and just could have made an unjust demand, and, being himself the debtor, should have claimed to be the creditor of Muhammad Riza for a large sum. Mirza Isma'il stood astonished at these words of the judge, and requested, as all he desired, that he would refer to his papers, which would clearly demonstrate that Muhammad Riza was in his debt. The judge satisfied him by giving him a sight of the papers. Hardly had Mirza Isma'il glanced at them than he said, surprised and confused, that these were not his papers nor his accounts. As they were forged, a decision should not be given, and he hoped time would be allowed.

Fazil Beg replied that he had the king's orders to decide according to the papers enclosed in the bag, and according to them there was nothing else for it but to decide in favour of Muhammad Riza. Mirza Isma'il, seeing that there was no hope of getting anything out of him, had recourse secretly to the king, and falling at his feet, assured him that in the transaction there was some deception, done either by Fazil Beg or through some trick played with the bag.

The king had no suspicions about the judge, for he had already tested him several times, and still less would Fazil Beg risk such a thing, for it would be sure to cost him his life. Nor could he suspect Mirza Isma'il of any imposition, he being known as an upright and truthful man, against whom none could make any accusation, for he was a just man with a good conscience. For these reasons the king said to Mirza Isma'il that he must be patient for a little while until he could get at the truth.

Among other things, the king reflected that the bag had been in [27] the hands of Muhammad Riza, that he could have cut it open and then closed it. Therefore he decided to put his suspicions to the test. Thus do princes act who desire to have justice done in their realms! He resolved to burn a piece of the carpet on which he sat, a piece of rich stuff excellently woven, and so much prized that he seldom used it to sit upon. Secretly he burnt a hole in the said carpet, and said nothing about it. The employe who had charge of it, discovering the burn, was in great fear lest the king might order his hand to be cut off, or otherwise punish him for taking so little care of such a precious article. Taking possession of the carpet, he removed it
in secret to his own house, and diligently searched for a work-
man who could darn it so perfectly that no one could see that it 
had been repaired. Through God’s will it so happened that 
he got hold of the workman who had sewn up the bag.

After some days the king asked where his favourite carpet 
was. When they had brought it and spread it out, the king took 
his seat upon it, and, without attracting attention, searched for 
anything in the nature of a darn. In spite of its having been 
repaired, he could not find the place. Thereupon the king 
ordered the employe to produce in his presence the workman 
who had darned the burnt place. The man, being frightened 
by this sudden question, could not deny, and went off to bring 
the workman. Both returned to the king’s presence, when he 
asked with a serious look, as if he already knew, ‘How much 
did you get for mending this bag?’ showing him the one that 
had sewn up. The workman replied that they had given 
a goodish sum; for the said bag had a hole, which (as they said) 
had been gnawed by the rats. It was of great importance to 
his good name, the owner said, that it should be darned at once 
and with skill. The king asked if he knew the man who gave 
him the job, and he answered ‘Yes.’ At once orders were given 
that a number of officials and servants should attend in the pre-
sence, with Mirza Isma’il and Muhammad Riza in their midst. 
When they had all arrived, the king asked the workman which 
was the man that had given him the bag to be darned. Then 
the workman pointed out Muhammad Riza, adding that he had 
done the work in his house and in his presence, stating the day, 
the hour, the house, and the place in the house where he had 
carried out the work. These statements having been verified, 
the king ordained that Muhammad Riza should be cut into four 
pieces, which, being attached to the tails of four camels, should 
be dragged through the city, preceded by a drummer and a man 
shouting: ‘This is the justice that the king has ordered to be 
done.’ The house of this Muhammad Riza was cleared of its 
contents, and the whole given to Mirza Isma’il. Thus was jus-
tice done, and impostors were kept in order; thus should act all 
princes if they would not be instruments of oppression, if they 
are desirous of cutting short the career of knavery [28].

The story I am now to tell will prove that Shah ‘Abbas 
loved to do justice. He who related it to me told me how the 
king allowed no Christian to be ill-treated. Nevertheless, the
Armenians are not held in much esteem in Persia, this very king having several times taken from them their wives and daughters, picking from among them the best-looking. All the same, he would not permit them to be oppressed by anyone else.

It happened that a Persian soldier, considered brave but very arrogant, a tall man with huge moustachios, went daily and seated himself at the shop of an Armenian trader who sold all sorts of drugs. This trader had a daughter eighteen years of age who looked after the shop. The soldier passed his day in conversation with this girl, whence it came to pass that the Armenian was unable to sell his goods. The customers were frightened at the terrible appearance of the soldier, and would not venture to approach the shop.

Thus the frightened trader was obliged, after much hesitation, to say to the soldier most humbly that he would feel obliged by his doing him the favour of not coming so often to his shop, seeing that no one dared while he was seated there to come up to it to buy anything; that thus he suffered greatly in his business. He must beg to be excused for making this petition, but it was necessity alone that compelled him to make the request; for if things went on as they were, he would be unable to exist himself or maintain his family. Hardly had the Armenian finished his humble speech than the soldier seized his sword, and with one blow severed the man's head from his body, and, jumping on his horse, rode off to hide in a place set aside by the king as a sanctuary for offenders, whence not even the law itself could withdraw him.

The Armenians were informed of this deed. Assembling themselves, they proceeded to lay their complaint before Mirza Cuchuc (Mirza Kuchak), which means 'Little Noble,' who was the chief justice. This man was so inimical to the Christians, that when he had succeeded in catching the murderer, the sentence he passed was that a small wound should be inflicted on the little finger of the man's left hand, from which only three drops of blood flowed, and that he should pay in cash a fine of ten patacas. This sentence showed that he valued the Armenians as worthless and people of no account. The Armenians,

3. Pataca, Yule and Burnell, second edition, 683, 'a dollar or piece of eight.' From Abu-taqaḥ, Arabic, 'Father of the Window,' a coin with a scutcheon on the reverse, taken by the Arabs for a window, N.M., i, 113, makes one pataca equal to two rupees.
upon the issue of this unjust sentence, made all possible haste to inform the king of the circumstances. He admitted them to an audience, and verified their account of what had happened. He told them to be patient, that he would not forget the case, and justice should be done to them. After the lapse of some days, Mirza Kuchak appeared before the king to report to him on various matters, but made no mention of the Armenian's death. The king dissembled. After a little conversation, he asked what would be the necessary sentence on a Christian who had slain a Mahomedan [29]. Mirza Kuchak replied that first of all he must be forced to pay three thousand patacas, and after many tortures his head must be cut off, as punishment for his great audacity in raising his hand upon one of the faithful friends of God and a follower of 'Ali. All this he delivered in a loud voice, as if he were pronouncing an admirable decision. The king pretended he approved the answer, but this was a mere subterfuge; and he went on to ask him. If by chance a Mahomedan wrongfully killed a Christian, what would have to be done? Mirza Kuchak, who supposed that his first reply had been pleasing to the king, and glorying so much the more in exalting Mahomedans as he depressed Christians, answered that the Mahomedan murderer must receive a small wound in the little finger of the left hand, from which three drops of blood could flow, and not more, paying, in addition, ten patacas to the relations of the deceased. Thereupon the king said: 'Why make such a difference between Mahomedans and Christians? It does not appear fair to favour the Mahomedans so greatly and show such harshness to the Christians.'

Mirza Kuchak began to give the rein to his eloquence, exalting the Mahomedans and depreciating the Christians. Among other arguments, he said that the Mahomedans of Persia were faithful to God, that they adored the great 'Ali, that there was a great difference between Mahomedans and Christians, both in this world and in the next, for Christians could never get to heaven, being infidels. To preach sound doctrine and afford a good example in this world, it was necessary to decide cases as he had stated, nor were Christians worthy of anything better.

Shah 'Abbas changed colour, and with an angry voice told him to be silent. He declined to hear such arguments; he had only to look into the books of Moses and see the rightful verdict:
"Who slays shall himself be slain." If he (the chief justice) had not been a descendant of Muhammad, he should have been forced to order him to be torn in pieces by lions, on account of the unjust sentence that he had given in the case where a soldier slew an Armenian. The king ordered him never to appear in his presence again, and the false accusers were expelled from the court.

The king ordered the soldiers of his guard to go and claim the soldier who had committed the murder, bring him out from wherever he was hiding, and cut him to pieces. They told the king that the place was a sanctuary, a place of safety that the king had granted to misdoers. The king answered: 'He who granted the sanctuary can withdraw it.' Thus in this king's time there is no longer any place of refuge. The soldier was quartered and the pieces dragged through the city of Isfahan, and Mirza Kuchak quitted Persia. Subsequently I encountered him in the empire of the Great Mogul, in the city of Laor (Lahor), and in the proper place (Part II., 198) I will recount what happened to him [30].

The events of which I have spoken caused the subjects of Shah 'Abbas to talk much about his many virtues. Hearing all this, an English gentleman lately arrived in Persia conceived a great desire of seeing so renowned a monarch. He therefore hastened on to Isfahan, and during a stay there of some days he became familiar and friendly with the king's goldsmiths, particularly with one of them called Clodio. This man was specially favoured by Shah 'Abbas, he being somewhat of a jester, and the king frequently delighted in listening to him.

The gentleman, learning the inclination that the king had to the said Clodio, begged and entreated him to arrange some

4. 'Whose sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed' (Gen. ix, 6).
5. This story is also told by J. B. Taunier (French edition of 1692), i. 2, chap. x. (Fifth Voyage, leaving Paris February, 1657), pp. 267, 268, 272. He makes the hero one De Reville, a Norman gentleman, whom he met at Smyrna. De Reville was put up by the English in their factory at Isfahan, and they sent their interpreter with him when he saw the king. Taunier, who says he was there, introduces the name of the Frenchman Claude; but the details and date do not accord with Manucci. Between them, who shall decide?
6. 'Claude Musin, armourer,' according to Taunier (i. 267, edition 1692); or, as in vol. iii, p. 108, 'C. Muzin, arquebusier du roi.'
way in which he could have an audience. He said that it was for this that he had come so far, and that he would go back to Europe satisfied if able to declare that he had seen and spoken to the King of Persia. Clodio inquired of him whether he had any business about which he could speak. The gentleman replied that he had none; it was solely for his own satisfaction and out of curiosity that he desired to see and speak to the king. To this Clodio said that as to seeing him, that was very easy; but in regard to speaking to him, it was against rule when there was no special business. The gentleman persisted that he had an ardent desire to speak to the king, and for that reason begged him to do this favour, which he would never forget as long as he lived; thus he must continue to search for some mode of accomplishing his desire.

As Clodio was quite willing to do this kindness to a gentleman of good family, he told him he must wait for some days, and then without fail he would carry him into the presence of the king. It so happened that a few days afterwards the king sent for Clodio. After a little conversation the latter reported to the king how there had come an English gentleman with many European recommendations, a great soldier, and of high family. This gentleman greatly desired to have the honour of being allowed to appear before the royal presence. He did not want to quit Persia for Europe without having accomplished this his purpose.

The king asked if the gentleman had come on any business. Clodio replied that he had none; his only business was to be able to boast of having spoken to the most renowned king in the world. The merits of his majesty were apparent to all, but chiefly to those of Europe. The king asked if the gentleman was of as high rank as the ambassador (Bellomont) who had already left. He was told that there was little difference. Upon this the king gave him permission to bring the gentleman the next day.

Clodio left the court and went straight to see the gentleman, who was waiting for him with great and impatient longing. Hardly had he appeared when the gentleman asked him if he brought good news. Clodio answered "Yes"; next day he would have to go to the palace, and therefore [31] he must make ready for the anxiously desired visit. The gentleman was very pleased, and in high delight embraced Clodio, declaring that his whole
life long he would be ready to serve his interest in any way he wished. Clodio bade him good-bye. The gentleman was busy all the night, without once stopping, in arranging his hair and attaching various ribbons to his clothes. His hat bore curled feathers of various kinds; his shirt and clothes he rubbed with different kinds of scent. When all this was completed, he passed the rest of the night composing sentences and searching for the choicest Turkish words to use. Next, he began to picture to himself how he must present himself before the king, the arguments and answers that he would have to give to the royal questions, which last he invented himself. From one thing to another, he finished by staring out of the window for the approach of dawn. Day had hardly broken when he issued forth hurriedly in search of Clodio, who pointed out to him that it was not yet time; when the hour arrived, he would fetch him. This he did, bringing with him Mestre Pit (? Mr. Pitt), who had also quitted Europe to see the world, and for the time being was to pass as the gentleman’s servant.

They arrived at the palace, the gentleman highly delighted at being so near the satisfying of his curiosity. He was as one very weary and very thirsty who reaches a crystal spring, not knowing how dear his curiosity would cost him. Announcement of their arrival was made to the king, he being at the time in his garden taking a walk. Permission having been accorded, all three went in—that is to say, Clodio and the gentleman and Mestre Pit (Mr. Pitt), who passed as a servant. Arriving within sight of the king, the gentleman raised his hat and made his bow in the European manner with great politeness. Drawing still nearer, he dropped on his knee, as Clodio had instructed him, and began to speak thus: ‘The greatness and the renown of your majesty’s royal person are spread throughout the world, and the name of such a dread sovereign stands higher than that of the greatest monarchs. The whole of Europe is lost in admiration that in Persia is a sun illuminating with its rays the whole of the Artic and Antarctic regions. Thus have I come this immense distance to acquire the honour of beholding and of speaking to such a great king.’

All this he said in the Turkish language. Shah ‘Abbas motioned with his hand for him to rise, and with a pleased

7. Mr. W. Foster was good enough to make a search for this ‘Mr. Pitt’ in the India Office Records, but without success.
expression requested him to come nearer. Then he asked his name, of what country he was, through what lands he had passed, and many other questions. After this he inquired how he supported himself in his own country. The gentleman replied that he owned land which yielded him a sufficient income [32], adding that he was a captain in the King of England's cavalry.

Shah 'Abbas replied: 'Can you tell me how it happened that his own subjects came to behead him, a thing I am unable to believe, seeing that it would be the greatest piece of disloyalty and audacity that could ever enter the heads of reasoning beings? I trust you will tell me the truth without any concealment.' The gentleman said: 'I will tell your majesty the truth: it took place with great barbarity, in public, upon a staging, a great crowd being assembled to look on at this event; among them I myself was quite close, and out of the deep affection which I had to my king, I have managed to preserve a handkerchief dipped in his blood.' Hearing these words, the king, Shah 'Abbas, placed both hands on his sides, and, changing colour, exclaimed in an angry voice: 'Oh, traitor! you were in his service and his subject; how could you be such a coward as to allow your king to be beheaded, being present yourself at this barbarous deed, without forthwith giving up your life for him?'

At these words, which issued from the king's mouth with the sound of a lion's roar, the gentleman stood dismayed, speechless, giving himself up as lost. The king, turning to his suite, said, in the same severe tone: 'Take away this coward and traitor, unworthy to remain in the world, and shut him up in a prison-house apart, and thus let the world know that Shah 'Abbas cannot suffer in his presence a man who, calling himself a gentleman and a valorous captain, could be present at the beheadal of his king without attempting the slightest effort in defence of his liege lord.'

Hardly had the king ended this speech when the men who were on guard fell upon the English gentleman, disarranging his feathers, hair, and garments, which had cost him a whole night's labour, and binding him, they dragged him off to a dark dungeon, where the poor gentleman expected every moment to be put to death, lamenting that his own curiosity had been the cause of this great peril. Meanwhile Clidio and Mestre Pit (Mr. Pitt) returned sadly to their homes, in shame, with hanging heads. Shah 'Abbas' object was to give a lesson to his own
nobles as to the manner in which they should serve their king and the fidelity they ought to display, when the occasion arose, in defence of their monarch.

After a few days Clodio went to the king and petitioned for the gentleman's pardon, and that his release might be graciously ordered. But the king still showed severity, and replied that such a fellow had no right to live. However, Clodio did not lose heart, knowing the favour in which he stood. He uttered some witty remark which chanced to take the king's fancy, and, laughing, he said he would grant the man's liberty if he (Clodio) would give his dog its liberty to remain all its life with the monarch of Persia. This dog was very clever [33], and several times the king had asked Clodio for it, but had always met with a refusal for one reason or another. Now, finding himself under an obligation to get the gentleman released, Clodio was forced to present to the king the dog he loved so well. Then the gentleman was set free, who that same day, in the greatest haste, left Isfahan, apprehending some further misadventure. When seeing him off, Clodio said to him that when he had reached Europe he should impart to his friends the honour that had been done him, and tell them that the kings of Asia were not devoid of sense.
CHAPTER XVI

OF OUR DEPARTURE FROM ISFAHAN AND ARRIVAL AT THE PORT OF BANDARABASSI (BANDAR ‘ABBAS)

We were now to continue our journey, wherefore we begged the help of Mestre Jonh (Henry Young), who gave to the ambassador the assistance he required. We wished to leave Isfahan in company of the said Mestre Jonh (Henry Young), but we could not conclude our business in time. He left several days before we did, and we left at the end of September of one thousand six hundred and fifty-two (1652). ¹

During our journey to the town of Xiras (Shiraz) we obtained good supplies of food, but the road is somewhat difficult, owing to the mountain ranges which must be crossed, where horses are fatigued not a little in trying to keep their feet. But I must allow there is also some fine open country, notwithstanding there are some very difficult swamps. The mountains are like all those in Persia—that is to say, generally bare of trees, though not wanting in fodder for sheep and goats, which in some places produce the stone called b’azar (bezoar). ² Of these stones I will speak when I come to write of the kingdom of Gulkhandah (III. 59), where there is an abundance of them.

The sheep of Persia are very prolific; they bring forth young twice a year, by the help of a grain called chicharos, ³ on which they are fed at a certain time of the year; and their wool is of the sort already described (I. 9).

Finally, at the end of fifteen days’ travel, we arrived at the town of Xras (Shiraz), where we stayed for thirty days, the ambassador having fallen ill. He received many visits from a

¹ The correct year is 1655. Henry Young left Isfahan on September 26, 1655.
² Yule and Burnell, p. 90, bezoar, from Persian padzahr, ‘poison stone,’ a hard concretion found in the stomach of a wild goat in the Persian province of Lar.
³ Evidently the Cicer arietinum or Pois chiche, in Persian nakhud (Schlimmer, 'Terminologie,' p. 136, Tehran, 1874); or the Indian channa, which Anglo-Indians call ‘gram’ (from Portuguese grao, ‘grain’).
barefooted Carmelite friar, a missionary to the Armenians who dwell here. The air of this town is very fresh; there are many gardens with good fruit, and the country round produces a quantity of grapes; consequently they make a great deal of wine, which is exported to all parts of India. Although the law of the Mahomedans forbids the drinking of wine, still the King of Persia permits the English to make it [34]; but they only produce enough for the company, and not to sell to others. In this region there is no deficiency of food produced, of oranges, of lemons, nor, above all, of roses, which they distil, and the rose-water is forwarded in boxes to all parts.

One of the wonderful things round Shiraz is a famous building standing at a distance approximately of two leagues, where dwelt, as they declare, the great Darius, King of Persia, who was defeated in battle by Alexander the Great. There is also a mountain in which is a cave where drips a liquid called by the Persians *mumihay* (*mumiya*). This liquid belongs to the king exclusively, and thus the cave is closed by doors and guarded by vigilant sentinels. It is the business of these men to collect the liquid (which drips in minute quantities) and then forward it to the king. When he wishes to make a gift to anyone, he gives them a little of this liquid. This is on account of the admirable results it produces—that is, for all bruises, fractures of bones, and sores.

If what they say is true, though I have not made the experiment, should the leg of a cock or other animal be broken and you take of the above liquid ten to fifteen drops and give it to the animal to drink, at the same time anointing the wounded place with it, then, if it is a true story, in twenty-four hours the bones will unite. I possessed a little, given me by one of the king’s eunuchs. He had effected wonderful cures with it. The principal case was the recovery of a stonemason who fell from a great height and lay with his bones broken, blood pouring from his mouth, nostrils, and ears, the man having entirely lost

4. *Mumiya* is bitumen, or Jew’s pitch. It exudes from crevices in the mountains of the Fars province, in which Shiraz lies. J. L. Schlimmer, ‘Terminologie . . . francaise-persane’ (Tahran, 1874), p. 60, says the Persians attribute to it miraculous powers; but, like Manucci, he never saw any of the miracles. Mr. A. G. Ellis tells me the word is a transfer from ‘mummy,’ the lower-class mummies being preserved in pitch. Morier’s ‘Haji Baba’ descants on the virtues of ‘momai.’
his senses and being without hope of life. In two days he was perfectly well. There is also a pond (*pauso*) where on the top of the water floats a ready-made gum which is sold by the natives as the royal liquid, thus cheating a few simpletons. It is not devoid of virtues, but they are nothing like so great as those of the royal liquid.

When the ambassador began to recover his health, we quitted Shiraz, and in nine days we were at the fort of Lar, which they say was formerly much larger, with a great enclosed space. But in the Middle Ages it was quite small, inhabited by many Hindus, who bought there the goods brought by traders from Isfahan and other places, and then exported them to many countries, principally from the ports of Congo and Bandar 'Abbas.

During our journey from Shiraz as far as Lar, we were in excellent health, but were in some concern lest we should not find water for drinking; for on the roads the water which is used is that collected during the rainy season in great cisterns. The earth being salt, the water which flows over it acquires the same property, and therefore is not potable. For this reason they preserve water in cisterns, in which there are all kinds of filth, and it is only out of absolute necessity that one feels inclined to drink.

In spite of this defect of water the country was sufficiently humid, and many places had their gardens of oranges [35], of palm-trees, and date-trees, bearing dates. In Lar we obtained sufficient food-supplies, but water only of the quality already described. There was water below ground in channels, as is the custom over almost the whole of Persia. The fort of Lar is placed upon a small hill standing in the midst of four other hills of the same size. Thus the fort in time of war is in want of protection from good walls and dependent edifices, for any enemy who occupied the aforesaid hills could easily attack the fort.

After a day's rest we left Lar and journeyed through open and agreeable country, coming to different 'sarays' (*saraes*), where we obtained grapes and melons for our consumption. We moved between hills of salt; we crossed several streams, whose crystal clearness invited us to drink, but their waters were

5. Yule and Burnell, 246, a port formerly of some trade, about 100 miles west of Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbas).
so salt that no one could even pass them over his tongue. Among the rest is a stream called Ryo Salgado (the river of salt), over which was a great bridge of more than thirty arches. In nine days, after sufferings enough, we arrived at Gomoram (Gombroon), of which the other name is Bandarabassi (Bandar ‘Abbasi), meaning ‘Harbour of Shah ‘Abbas’; for, being a port on the sea, it is called ‘Bander’ (bandar), and having been established by the Great Shah ‘Abbas,’ they have added ‘abassi,’ and have come to call it Bandarabassi. This harbour was made by Shah ‘Abbas, after having recovered from the hands of the Portuguese, with the aid of the English, the famous island and fort of Orumus (Hormuz).

HORMUZ ISLAND.

This island was formerly the greatest and most frequented port on the ocean, where dwelt traders to every region in India—men of great wealth—so that a merchant possessing more than a million of patacas [about £100,000] was not a man of very great account. Shah ‘Abbas considered that by making himself master of Hormuz, and transferring the port to the mainland, lying not over a league from the island, he would be able to draw all this wealth into Persia. But he was frustrated in his object because the traders were afraid of his interference. The island has many hills of salt, and the climate is therefore prejudicial to life. Notwithstanding this, the Persians are so jealous about the island that they do not wish a single European to set foot in it.

After we had been in Bandar ‘Abbas three days the ambassador ordered me to go to the English factory to speak to the chief, requesting him to send [36] a trustworthy person to discuss certain negotiations of great importance. The chief sent to him Mestre Pit (Mr. Pitt), who had acted as page to the English gentleman desirous of speaking to Shah ‘Abbas. With him there was a full hour’s discussion. Next day the chief himself came with the officials of the factory to visit the ambassador. Offers were made to him to serve him in every way they could. At the time there was an English vessel belonging to a private owner, about to sail for the port of Surrati (Surat). They asked the ambassador to embark in her, as she would be the last vessel to leave Bandar ‘Abbas in that monsoon. Then we ate

mutton which came from Hormuz, also good and cheap fish caught in the harbour.

The water at Bandar 'Abbas is either rain-water or brackish, and of such bad quality that it disorders the bodily humours, and generates worms as long as your arm, which appear on the hands, jaws, and legs. When they begin to show themselves, you must lay hold of them by the head, and pull at them daily, winding them round a hide (? twig)\textsuperscript{7} or cloth very slowly. For if they break they turn inwards, causing great pain, and becoming very difficult to cure. For this reason everybody who can do it sends to fetch water by camels from inland, three leagues off, at a place called Hixin. The climate of this port is most noxious by reason of the salt ridges, and of certain hot winds, and the noise of the sea. I noted that many of the inhabitants had defective sight and teeth, and I was informed that on this coast, as far as Arabia and Mecca, they suffered from these ailments by reason of the many dates that they eat; for the larger number of the inhabitants live upon that fruit in addition to fish.

\textsuperscript{7} I have failed to trace this word hide (or, as in Part III, 187, yde), but 'twig' will satisfy the meaning in both passages. Mr. D. Ferguson writes: 'In Sinhalese iratta is the central fibre of the cocoanut or palmyra-leaf, and brooms are made of these. Perhaps hide or yde represents a Malayalam word with above meaning.'
CHAPTER XVII

OF OUR ARRIVAL IN THE PORT OF SINDY AND
DEPARTURE FOR SURRAI

Two days after the visit that the Englishmen had paid to the
ambassador—that is to say, on the fifteenth of December of one
thousand six hundred and fifty-two (1652) [should be 1655]—we
went on board the said vessel. During the whole of our voyage
the captain treated us with great politeness and civility. Setting
sail, we arrived in twelve days, having favourable winds, at a
port in the Great Mogul's territory called Sindi.1 There the ves-
sel anchored, and we travelled upstream by the river for a whole
night to an inhabited place, which stood twelve hours' journey
from the sea. This river is a very large one, it being formed
of seven rivers which flow down from the interior of the country,
as I will relate hereafter (I. 222). Here we saw many Arabian
and Persian vessels which [37] import great quantities of dates,
horses, seed-pearls,2 pears, incense, gummastic, senna-leaves, and
Jew's stones,3 which come from Mecca. In return they load up
with white and black sugar, butter, olive oil, and cocos, which
medical men call nos Indica (Indian nut.)4 Of this product and
its virtues I will make mention farther on (III. 232). They also
export many kinds of white linen [? cotton cloth] and printed
goods, which are manufactured in the same region.

In the town were three small factories, one English, another
Dutch, and another Portuguese. A barefooted Carmelite father

1. Probably identical with Lari-bandar in Sind (see Yule, 320, 507,
837).
2. Algosres, Yule and Burnell, 12, 203. Aljofar, "seed pearls,"
said to be from Arabian aljauhar.
3. The lapsis Judaicus, or hajar-ul-yahud, is considered by the
Persians to be diuretic, and a dissolvent of stones in the bladder (see
4. For 'Indian nut' (Cocos nucifera), see Yule, 228, and the
quotation there given for 545, 1292, 1328, 1340, 1350, 1598, 1610, 1690
A. D.
also dwelt there in his little hermitage, but nowadays [1698-1699] there are none of these Europeans there. The principal city of the country of Sind was at a distance of twelve leagues from this town, further in the interior; it is called Tata (Tattah), and is the residence of a governor or viceroy, who rules over this country. When the business was finished that our captain had to do at this place, we left it, and returned to the vessel. Setting sail, we arrived in a few days at the port of Surat on the twelfth of January of one thousand six hundred and fifty-three (1653) [correctly 1655/6].

As soon as we had anchored milord went ashore secretly, following the advice given to him by our captain and by a private trader to seek a refuge in the town. For the English were going to seize him and put him by force on board one or other of the English vessels, then in harbour and about to sail for England. It produced great astonishment in me to see how milord landed without breathing a word to me. But I heard the reason afterwards when I reached Surat, bringing all the baggage which was in my charge. There we found Mestre Jonh (Henry Young), who had left Persia a short time before us; and my master announced that he had come as an ambassador from the king to the Great Mogul.

When the governor of Surat heard of the ambassador's arrival, he ordered his secretary to pay him a visit. The message thus brought was that rumour said he had come as ambassador, therefore he was requested to state whether this was true or not. It was necessary for him (the governor) to send a report to the emperor Xaaiahah (Shahjahan), then ruling over the empire of the Great Mogul. The ambassador replied that it was correct, that he could write in all confidence and

5. The Cermelite Mission in Sind was founded in 1615 by Père Johannes a Jesu Maria, who sent there Père Ludo vicus Franciscus a Matre Dei. The Mission was abandoned at some date previous to 1712, when the Portuguese were ejected and trade had decayed.... Müllbauer, 'Geschichte,' p 344.

6. See Note on Lord Bellomont, where it will be seen that the directors of the East India Company had given orders of this description. Henry Young sailed for Surat on November 20, 1655, in the Diamond. The Seahorse, with Lord Bellomont on board, reached Swally January 5 (15), 1655/1656.
announce his arrival. Before I say anything of our stay, I will state something about this port [38].

**SURAT.**

Three times have I visited the port of Surat. It lies on the banks of a large river at a distance of nine leagues from the sea. The first time I was there Surat was very populous, but not encircled by walls, its only defence being then a fort on the bank of the river. On the second and third occasions that I visited the port the town had a good wall, made by Orangzeb (Aurangzeb) on the occasion of the war with Xevagi (Shiva Ji), as I shall state in its proper place.7

On my first arrival I was much pleased to see such a large river of sweet water full of ships. These latter were not very large, for such only as were of moderate size could come up it unless unloaded; therefore, they send the cargo in boats as far as the sea and load there, and from the sea they also send the cargo inland by boats. It is a great delight to take a seat on the bank of the river and behold the numerous boats which shoot to and fro like arrows. It is the largest port in India and the best river. Thus, it is resorted to by a great number of ships from different parts of Europe, Persia, Arabia, Mecca, Bassora, the coasts of Malabar and Choramandal, Massulapatao (Masulipatam or Machhlipatanam), Bengal, Siam, Acheen, Queddah, the Maldives, Malacca, Batavia, Manilla, China and many other parts of the world.

Whenever a loaded vessel arrives, the Hindu traders go aboard, and ask if the captain wishes to sell the whole cargo of the ship. If so, they pay for it in money, or furnish goods for the return cargo, whichever is preferred. This is all done without delays, and merchants can thus acquire whatever merchandise they are in search of, and for which they have left home. On this river are built very fine lofty ships in a very short time, everything necessary being found, principally excellent timber; for which reason these ships last much longer than those made in Europe.

7. In ii. 89 the building of walls round Aurangabad and Burhanpur is mentioned. I cannot find the entry about the Surat wall. Grant Duff (89, note), referring to the India Home Records and Thevenot, says the work was in active progress early in 1666.
On my first visit to the port I found there no more than two factories, one English, and one Dutch, and a little church belonging to the French Capuchin fathers, whose superior was the famous priest Brother Ambrozie. Afterwards the French came and built a handsome factory. Thus Surat, which was inhabited by rich traders, Mohamedan, Hindu, English, Dutch, became still more populous by the arrival of the French. Upon the sea-shore, on the other side of the river, the Europeans have their gardens, to which they can retire [39] should at any time the Mahomedans attempt to attack them. For there, with the assistance of the ships, they would be able to defend themselves.

I was much amused when I landed to see the greater number of the inhabitants dressed in white clothes, also the many different kinds of people, as well men as women. The latter, mostly Hindus, do not conceal the face as in Persia and Turkey, where women go about with their faces hidden. It is true that the Mahomedan women do not allow their faces to be seen by anyone, it being contrary to their law to allow themselves to be seen with an uncovered face.

But among other things I was much surprised to see that almost everybody was spitting something red as blood. I imagined it must be due to some complaint of the country, or that their teeth had become broken. I asked an English lady what was the matter, and whether it was the practice in this country for the inhabitants to have their teeth extracted. When she understood my question, she answered that it was not any disease, but [due to] a certain aromatic leaf called in the language of the country pan, or in Portuguese betele. She ordered some leaves to be brought, ate some herself, and gave me some to eat. Having taken them, my head swam to such an extent that I feared I was dying. It caused me to fall down; I lost my colour, and endured agonies; but she poured into my mouth a little salt, and brought me to my senses. The lady assured me that everyone who ate it for the first time felt the same effects.

Betel, or pan, is a leaf similar to the ivy-leaf, but the betel leaf is longer; it is very medicinal, and eaten by everybody in India. They chew it along with 'arrecas' (areca), which physicians call Avelans Indicas (Indian filberts), and a little catto
which is the dried juice of a certain plant that grows in India. Smearing the betel leaf with a little of the kath, they chew them together, which makes the lips scarlet and gives a pleasant scent. It happens with the eaters of betel, as to those accustomed to take tobacco, that they are unable to refrain from taking it many times a day. Thus the women of India, whose principal business it is to tell stories and eat betel, are unable to remain many minutes without having it in their mouths.

It is an exceedingly common practice in India to offer betel leaf by way of politeness, chiefly among the great men, who, when anyone pays them a visit, offer betel at the time of leaving as a mark of goodwill, and of the estimation in which they hold the person who is visiting them. It would be a great piece of rudeness to refuse it.

The Parsis at Surat.

In Surat there is a class of men called Parsis, worshippers of fire, who in former days were inhabitants of Persia. But when first the Mahomedan religion got into Persia, the king tried to force them to become Mahomedans. For this reason they sent an embassy to the Hindu prince of Surat, asking him to grant them permission to emigrate into that country with their families, where they would become his permanent subjects. The Hindu prince received the embassy and allowed them to come, on condition that they should neither slaughter cows nor eat cows' flesh. He promised them the same rights as his other subjects. They came to Surat, where unto this day there are numbers of them, as also in different villages, and in the Portuguese territory adjacent to Damao (Daman).

Their religious belief is such that, if through misadvanture anyone's house takes fire, on no account will he allow the fire to be interfered with or extinguished, it being, according to them, the greatest good luck and cause of rejoicing that he could have, he believing that his gods have conferred on him an especial gift and favour, in return for the adorations he has paid to them. And if ever, through negligence, the fire goes out in any of their houses, a fire that all of them maintain with especial care, there is great lamentation, much more than they would make if their nearest relation had died. After such a

8. The juice of Mimosa catechu, or the khair tree.
mishap the owner has recourse to his priest, begging his pardon for the crime he has committed in allowing the extinguishment of his household fire. The usual penance imposed is that the culprit must invite a number of families of the highest position among them. When these have all collected, well-washed and well-clad, they go off to the priest’s house, and he, in their presence, makes a speech to the house-holder, and at the end of it delivers fire from his own house. This they carry, with a grand array of trumpets and drums, and arriving at the sinner’s house, he is obliged to give them all a feast. These people have made a vow never to go upon the sea, in order not to defile it, since the sea unfailingly induces vomiting; and in gratitude for the benefits it has done to them they hold it in this great respect.

It happened at the time when I was in Surat that Shahjahan, King of the Great Mogul, sent a severe reprimand to the governor because he had not acquired a lovely pearl of great value and forwarded it to the court. The reader should know that the governors sent by the king to Surat are persons of rank, men highly thought of and favoured by the king. These men have orders [41] to buy all things that are most beautiful, precious, and rare, and send them to the king. Yet this pearl passed through without the knowledge of the governor, and reached the king, who bought it at a fair price. Then he issued the aforesaid reprimand once more, enjoining on the governor to take special care to buy all the best things that came to that port, more especially pearls and horses, which come from Arabia and Persia. For all these things are used by the king as gifts to the princes and the court officials. Therefore he searches with great exactness through all merchandise to find out if there is anything rare or valuable.

We remained for seventy-five days in that port—i.e., Surat—the revenues of which had been given by Shah Jahan to his daughter, Begom Saeb (Begam Sahib), to meet her expenditure on betel. During this time we were making our preparations for going on to the court of the Great Mogul. I was much gratified at seeing such plenty in this place, for I had never had such a satisfaction since [I left] my Venice, and felt proud at staying some days in this port, especially after the arrival of the French. During the time we remained the English never ceased to offer a thousand civilities to milord, the ambassador.
But his true friends told him not to trust them, for all they did was in order to get hold of him and carry him off to England. They did their very best once to persuade the ambassador to go on board of an English vessel, then about to depart for England, under the pretext of offering him a banquet with all the state befitting his dignity. But the truth was that they wanted to confine him in the ship, and he most politely made excuses. Then we began to get together our baggage, for which purpose the ambassador was in want of funds. Mestre Jonh (Henry Young) secretly offered to supply all that was required, whether in money or in different sorts of goods, among the latter some fine broadcloth, a handsome clock, an Arab horse for a present to the king, with swords, pistols, matchlocks, and numerous European playthings. We started from Surat, bearing a passport given us by the governor, and in fifteen days we reached the town of Brampur (Burhanpur), where was the court of the prince Aurangzeb, with whom we had much to discuss. We did not meet with him, by reason of his being at that time in Orangabad (Aurangabad) [42].
CHAPTER XVIII

OF THE TOWN OF BRAMPUR (BURHANPUR), AND OF OUR ARRIVAL IN AGRA (AGRAH), AND DEATH OF THE AMBASSADOR

We found Brampur (Burnhanpur) a town of medium size, and without a wall. Aurangzeb, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-six, being then absolute king, caused it to be enclosed by a bulwark and wall along the bank of the river which flows beneath it. This river is not very large, but its waters are very clear and good. The town is much frequented by Persian and Armenian traders, on account of the many kinds of excellent cloth manufactured there, chiefly various sorts of women's head-dresses (touca) and cloth for veils (beatiha), scarlet and white, of exceeding fineness;¹ also for the quantity of iron to be procured there.

In this town there is plenty of fruit, such as amb (ambah) or mangas (mango)—the best fruit to be found in India—oranges, limes, citrons,² and grapes in abundance. There is also in this town, as throughout the kingdom of the Mogul, a large supply of vegetables of various sorts. On the road to this town we found every day different streams and brooks with good water, also villages, shady and pleasant woods, peopled with many varieties of animals of the chasè, such as harts, stags, gazelles, wild oxen (ores), peacocks, cooing doves, partridges, quail (cordinizes), blackbirds (tordo), geese (patto), ducks (ades), widgeon (marecas), and many sorts of birds. I would warn the reader never to stray far from his companions, because he might come across robbers in these woods. When they find any person apart from his company they rob him. I was very near falling into their hands, for, having gone some distance from the rest of the caravan, I had got off my horse. I was

¹. As to these goods, see Tavernier (Ball's edition), i. 51.
². The text has sioras, which Mr. D. Ferguson proposes to read sidras=cidras=‘citrons’. He has many instances he can adduce where in Portuguese works limoens (limes or lemons) and cidras (citrons) follow each other in such lists of tropical fruits. I have adopted his emendation.
about to shoot at a peacock with my matchlock, when all of a sudden there came out towards me two men with bows and arrows, who with signs and calls invited me to approach them. But I, apprehending what they wanted, went on my way in the direction the rest of the company had gone, never ceasing to have an eye upon those men. These, seeing me choose a different direction, placed arrows in their bows, and, hastening their pace, came after me, trying to overtake me. Seeing that otherwise I could never escape them, I stopped and put my matchlock to my cheek as if I meant to fire. Frightened at my firmness, they placed their hands on their heads as a sign of politeness, and, turning their backs, fled with even more agility than they had followed me. I continued on my way in dread of a similar [43] encounter, and thus I learnt never more to leave the rest of the travellers, and I put off my longing to go out shooting until we should reach some place or village. Then I went out to shoot, and without hindrance killed whatever I wished, there being no scarcity of things to kill.

We delayed eight days in Burhanpur, then, resuming our journey, we came in six days to a river called the Narbada, where there was a town called Andia (Handiyah); there was also on the bank of the above-named river a little fort situated at the crossing-place. This river is of great breadth, and full of large stones. Its waters divide the lands of the Dacan (Dakhin) from those of Industan (Hindustan), which word means 'Hindudom' (gentilidade, place of the heathen).

We crossed the river, and after going eight days through jungle, we arrived at a large town called Seronge (Sironj) which in old days was founded by a Hindu prince, but at present the overlord thereof is the Grand Mogul. This town lies in the midst of the territories of several Hindu princes of the Rajput tribe. Of these the nearest and the most powerful is the Rajah Champet Bondela (Champat Rae, Bundelah), whose country extends to twenty leagues from Agra (Agrah), and he has command over fifteen thousand horsemen and three hundred thousand infantry.

In this town is made much cloth, both white and printed; Armenian traders dwell there, who buy the cloth and send it to various parts. Sometimes European traders come there to do business in this cloth.
It happened that more than once the said Champet Bondela (Champat Rae, Bundelah) came to plunder this town, on account of certain dissensions between him and the Mogul king. For this reason it was always garrisoned by a considerable force of Mogul cavalry under a general. In spite of this the fighting was not put an end to; there were many battles, in which on many occasions the Moguls had the worst of it. By reason of these Hindu princes, these routes are very dangerous for travellers. For the use of wayfarers there are throughout the realms of the Mogul on every route many ‘sarais’ (sarae). They are like fortified places with their bastions and strong gates; most of them are built of stone or of brick. In every one is an official whose duty it is to close the gates at the going down of the sun. After he has shut the gates, he calls out that everyone must look after his belongings, picket his horses by their fore and hind legs; above all, that he must look out for dogs, for the dogs of Hindustan are very cunning and great thieves. I may find a good opportunity [44] to speak of the cunning of these dogs (III., 152).

At six o’clock in the morning, before opening the gates, the watchman gives three warnings to the travellers, crying in a loud voice that everyone must look after his own things. After these warnings, if anyone suspects that any of his property is missing, the doors are not opened until the lost thing is found. By this means they make sure of having the thief, and he is strung up opposite the sarae. Thus the thieves, when they hear a complaint made, drop the goods somewhere, so as not to be discovered.

These saraes are only intended for travellers (soldiers do not go into them). Each one of them might hold, more or less, from 800 to 1,000 persons, with their horses, camels, carriages; and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls, and verandas, with trees inside the courtyard, and many provision shops; also separate abodes for the women and men who arrange the rooms and the beds for travellers. I will speak hereafter of the deceits of all these, when I come [I., 71] to talk of the sultan Amayum (Humayun).

We halted four days in Sironj, and then went on our way across inaccessible mountains, with numerous beautiful trees,

3. See also i. 71 for an account of saraes.
and traversed by crystal streams whose waters are most wholesome, doing no harm to those who drink them fasting; rather are they beneficial and most palatable. In six days we reached the town of Narwar (Narwar), which lies at the foot of a great range of hills six leagues in circumference. On the very highest point of these hills is a fortress, which occupies all the level ground on the summit, with a circumference of two miles—a little more or less—with many houses and rooms, a work made long ago by the Hindus. But in the course of years, and by the inclemency of the weather, the walls are crumbling away, through the negligence of the Mogul king. His object is to destroy all the strong places of the Hindus of which he can get possession, so that their conquered princes may not rebel against him. His only anxiety is to fortify and supply the forts that are on the frontiers of his kingdom.

We did not halt at this place (Narwar), but pressed onwards. In five days we arrived at the well-known fortress of Gualior (Gwaliyar), where it is usual for the Mogul to keep as prisoners princes and men of rank. This fortress is on the top of a great mountain having a circuit of three leagues. It is in the middle of a fertile plain, and thus there is no other high ground from which it could be attacked. There is only a single road to ascend it, walled in on both sides, and having many gates to bar the way, each having its guard and sentinels. The rest of the [45] hills is of rock, perpendicular as a wall, though made by Nature. All around this mountain are to be seen many balconies, lanterns (? kiosks), rooms, and verandas, in different styles of architecture, with Hindu sculptures, all of this making the view most agreeable and pleasant to the visitor.

On the crest of the mountain is a great plain, on which are sumptuous palaces with many balconies and windows of various kinds of stone, and delightful gardens irrigated from many crystal springs, where cypress and other lovely trees raise their heads aloft, so as to be visible from a distance. Within this fortress is manufactured much oil of jasmine, the best to be found in the kingdom, the whole of the level ground on the summit being covered with that shrub. There are also in this

4. See Tieffenthaler's description of Narwar (where he lived many years) in Bernouilli's 'Beschreibung', vol. i., p. 116, and the Plan No. 4 in the appendix thereto.
district many iron-mines, of which numerous articles are made and sent to the principal cities in the Mogul country.

In the town, which lies at the foot of the hill, there dwell many musicians, who gain a livelihood with their instruments; and many persons maintain that it was on this mountain that the god Apollo first started Hindu music.

Continuing our route, we came in three days to the river called the Chambal, at which is the town named Dulpur (Dholpur), where Aurangzeb gave battle against his brother Dara (Dara Shukoh), in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-six [correctly, 1658], at which I was present, and to which, further on, I shall refer [I. 182-184]. Thence, in four days, we arrived at the city of Agrah, having ended by doing four hundred and sixty leagues, for such is the number reckoned from Surat as far as Agrah. At this place the governor assigned to us a handsome house to stay in.

We remained in this city, of which I will speak on a future occasion (I. 83), and, a few days after our arrival, the Englishmen who at that time were present at their factory came to visit the ambassador, showing themselves desirous of being useful to him, making him frequent and handsome offers. But these the ambassador would in no way accept. After several visits they invited him to their house, where they gave him a splendid feast, with dressed meats and beverages after their style. The ambassador complained very much of the great heat that has to be endured in that country, and the English offered him a powder, declaring that if he mixed it and drank it he would experience great relief and coolness.

When a few days had passed we resumed [46] our route for Dely (Dihli), where at that moment the king, Shahjahan, was living. Then, after three days from our leaving Agrah, towards the evening, when in sight of the place where we meant to halt for that night, the ambassador called out to me in great pain, asking me for water. Then he expired without allowing me time to give it to him, those being the last words that he uttered. He died on the twentieth of June of one thousand six hundred and fifty-three [correctly, 1656], at five o'clock in the evening. We carried the body at once to a sarae called Orel (Hodal), between Agrah and Dihli, and, it being already late, we did not bury him that night. The official at the sarae sent notice to the local judicial officer, who hastened to the
spot, and, putting his seal on all the baggage, laid an embargo upon it. I asked him why he seized and sealed up those goods. He answered me that it was the custom of that realm, and that he could not release the things until an order came from court, *they being the property of an ambassador*.

After seven hours of the night had passed, we removed the body of the defunct from the palanquin in order to enshroud it, and, as day began to dawn, we proceeded to lay him in the grave. Taking him by the arms, I tried to lift him, but, while in my hands, a blister burst from which exhaled such a fetid odour that all those standing by nearly fainted and fell down. We were forced to cease to lift him, and await the day. When day arose we somehow or other put him into a coffin, with all the haste that the odour compelled, and interred him on the bank of a reservoir which adjoined the town, marking the spot so that his bones might be transported elsewhere, as accorded with the rank of such a person. And as a fact they removed the remains after fifteen months to the city of Agra (Agrah).

Having interred the ambassador, the servants all disappeared, and I was left alone, sad and anxious, having nothing to console me, nor anywhere to turn in order to recover my things, which had been sealed up by the official along with the ambassador’s, although all the keys were in my possession [47].

**HENRY BARD, VISCOUNT BELLOMONT**

Manucci’s Lord Bellomont is an historical personage, a Cavalier whose biography will be found under his name (Henry Bard) in the ‘Dictionary of National Biography,’ vol. iii., p. 175. That account, in spite of its giving much interesting information, cannot be called satisfactory, being in many places not only deficient, but incorrect. The most important points are: (1) Erroneous year of birth; (2) omission of Baard’s doings in Persia and India; (3) erroneous place and year of death.

First, then, as to the year of Bard’s birth.

He was born at Staines, Middlesex, where his father, the Rev. George Bard, was Vicar (died 1616); but I am informed by the present Vicar, the Rev. S. Theodore Wood, that the earliest parish records date from 1644; nor is there any register at Eton College of a date early enough to show when H. Bard entered and left that school. Fortunately, through the kindness of Mr.
W. H. Macaulay, M.A., of King's College, Cambridge, I have obtained a valuable note drawn up by Mr. J. C. Clarke, the bursar's clerk. From this it appears that Bard was admitted a scholar on August 23, 1632, at the age of sixteen; thus the year of birth must have been 1615 or 1616, and not 1604, as in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' On August 24, 1635, he was admitted a Fellow, took his degree of B.A. in 1636, and ceased to be a Fellow at Michaelmas, 1645 (no doubt owing to his marriage). There is no record of his proceeding M.A.

In a MS. Catalogue of the Provosts, Fellows, etc., by John Hall (who came to King's College in 1645), is the following: 'Henry Bard travelled on foot (what possibly might be so passed) in France, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, etc. When he came home he gave to the college a fair Alcoran in Arabic, which he had to that end purchased in Egypt. He came home a little before the time that King Charles set up his standard at Nottingham [1642]. He went into the King's army, where for his worth he was soon made a Colonel. He was a man of very personable body, and of a stout and undaunted courage. He was made prisoner at Ailsford fight, in Hampshire, near Winchester, being very much wounded; he there lost the use of one of his arms. But he was soon released, and at his coming to Oxford, the King's headquarters, he had the command of a brigade committed to him, and was made Knight Baronet, October 8, 1644, and soon after Viscount Bellomont, still continuing Fellow of this college until he married. He was sent by His Majesty the King of Scots from Bruges in landers Ambassador to the Great Mogul, in which embassy he died (1656).'

The Quran is still preserved in the college library, and the following description is taken from Dr. M. R. James's 'Catalogue of King's College MSS.' (1895): 'No. 29. A Koran of cent. xvi., xvii. On paper 7½+4½, with two illuminated pages at the beginning, and the following inscription:

"Henricus Bard, Eques Auratus et Baronettus [postea Vicomes Bellomontanus], Collegii Regalis Socius, postquam Collegiali commeatu impetrato Europam Asiam et Africam maxima ex parte perlustrassit, hunc librum Ægypte allatum amoris simul et peregrinationem monumentum Collegio Regali dedicavit. May 28, 1644."

In the life of Charles Mason (1616-1677), 'Dictionary of


6. John Hall, born at Windsor: M.A. in 1653, appointed to a College living in Hampshire, 1661; died about 1673 (see British Museum MS., No. 5816, W. Cole's 'Miscellaneous Collections for Cambridge', vol. xv., p. 189).
National Biography,' xxxvi., 416, and in Thomas Harwood's 'Alumni Etonensis,' p. 233 (under date A.D. 1632, Car. I., 8), it is said that H. Bard entrusted Mason with the manuscript account of his early travels. I have not been able to trace this manuscript; it is not at King's College.

Next, as to the embassy to Persia and India. Miss Eva Scott, in her recent work, 'The King in Exile' (1905), p. 285, speaks of Bard's appointment as Ambassador to Persia and Morocco; beyond that fact she has no information. A rough draft of his instructions, undated, is to be found at the Bodleian, in the Carte MSS., vol. cxxx., fol. 144, and Miss Scott assigns this document to 1650. The terms of this draft are as follows:

INSTRUCTION FOR OUR RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELLBELOVED VISCOUNT BELLAMONT NOW BY US EMPLOYED AS OUR EXTRAORDINARY AMBASSADOR TO THE EMPEROURS OF PERSIA AND MOROCCOS.

1. You shall beginne your journey with what speed you may, and shall repaire first to eyther of those princes as shall be most commodious for you.

2. When you come to the Emperour of Persia you shall at your first audience deliver our letters to him, and shall as you have occasion acquaint him particularly with the circumstances of the King our late royal father's murther, and with the proceeding of the rebells since, and that the grounds upon which they procee are such as are destructive to all Monarchy, and ayme only to sett up the power of the people, that accordingly they endeavour to exclude us from the right of our succession, have seised our revenue, palaces, jewells, plate, and royal ornaments, together with our flete, castles, forts, and forces within our Kingdome of England, of all which they now make use to invade and disturbe our right in our other Kingdomes, and that though we have considerable forces under our present command yet the Kingdome of England being by much the greatest, richest, and most populous of our dominions, we are much distressed for want of money to pay our armies and supply our other important occasions.

3. You shall therefore propose to the Emperour to fournish vs with some considerable summe of present money for our assistance in this great exigence of our affaires, and to pay it unto you for our vse to be returned or conveyed to vs, and we leave it to you to particularise the summe according to y' hopes you shall have of obteyning the same when you are vpon the place.

4. You shall engage our royall worde for the repayment of the same at Ormuz or elsewhere within the Emperour's
dominions as soone as we shall be settled in just rights of our kingdom of England.

'5. We authorise you in like manner to negotiate with the Emperor of Maroccos (sic) and to procure what money you can from him for our assistance (the like with the Prince of Georgia).

'6. You shall advise with Mr. John Webster of Amsterdam how money may be returned from eyther of those places to Amsterdam or other part for our service, or how you may dispose of any commodities you shall receyve to our use.

'7. You shall not pay any of the money you shall receyve but by spetiall order from ourselfe under our hands except it be for your owne charges and for necessary disbursements in the service, and you shall keepe very secret from the knowledge of all persons except those that are trusted with this negociation what money you shall procure for vs in this employment.

'8. You shall keepe constant correspondence with our secretary Robert Long, esq., and shall from tyme to tyme signify your proceedings and success to him who will give vs an account thereof when you cannot immediately send to ourselfe.

'The like instructions you are to observe in the rest of the kingdomes you goe into.'

Endorsement. 'Instructions for Lord Bard. Mr. Mason drew the other, whereof I have noe copy.'

I infer that these instructions were drawn up in 1651, and not in 1650, for the following reasons. In the same volume of the Carte MSS., fol. 238, there is another draft letter of a similar character, addressed to 'Mulay Mahomett Chee, Kinge of Maroccos, Fez, Sus. and Ginie.' It has no day or month affixed, but professes to have been prepared in the 'third yeare of our Reigne,' and to be given 'at the head of our Army in our Kingdome of Scotland.' Now, the third year began in January, 1651, and Charles crossed the Border into England early in August, 1651 (E. Scot, 'King in Exile,' pp. 201, 202); therefore the draft was written between January and August, 1651, and I presume it is the 'other' referred to in the endorse- ment to the Persia instructions, and thus both would be of about the same date. It is possible that these letters were in

7. This John Webster appears in E. Scott's 'King in Exile', p. 390, being asked (1652) to try and revictual Dunottar Castle. He is also mentioned in connection with Amsterdam in C. J. Lyon's 'Personal History', p. 26 (June, 1650).

8. See 'Dictionary of National Biography', xxxiv, 107. Made Baronet September 1, 1660; died in 1673; fell out of favour early in 1652; dismissed in 1653; restored to favour in 1654.

9. Muhammad III., of the Hasani Sharif line, who reigned 1635-1654 (S. L. Poole, 'Mohammadan Dynasties', 61).
existence in about June, 1651, for, as Mr. W. Foster has kindly informed me, at a court held on June 20, 1651, the committee of the then East India Company resolved: 'The Court having intelligence that there was a designe of sending some person by the King of Scotland or the late Queene of England to Persia to obstruct the Company's trade, and they considering how prejudical it might prove unto them, if effected, They ordered Mr. Sambrooke to write a letter to their President and Councill at Suratt requiring them in case any Englishman or other shall arrive there with any letter or commission either from the King of Scotts or his mother with a purpose to interrupt the Company's trade, that they should seize upon him as a prisoner and return him for England with the first opportunity.'

The germ of this insane attempt to obtain money from Persia is probably to be traced to a letter in French (undated) from one Hogia Pedre (Khwajah Petrus), son of Sefer (Safar), a Persian Christian (Carte MSS., vol. cxxx., fol. 145). It was probably addressed to the Queen Mother, Henrietta, and is a proposal to intercept the Customs dues of Hormuz, half of which had been received since the Treaty of 1622 by the East India Company's agents, who are held up as rebels and embezzlers. Petrus offers to collect the dues on the King's behalf, and remit two-thirds of the proceeds to Amsterdam or Paris; or, in the alternative, proposes that someone be sent to Persia with him to receive there two-thirds of the proceeds on His Majesty's behalf.

We have no record of the reasons for abandoning the projected visits to Morocco and to Georgia, nor have we any trace of Bard's appointment as Ambassador to the Great Mogul. Originally, as it would appear, that employment was assigned to Sir Andrew Cogan (who died 1660), the founder of Madras. At the Louvre, on April 11, 1652, Charles II. appointed Sir Charles (sic; should be 'Andrew') Cogan, Knight and Baronet, as 'Ambassador Extraordinary to China, the Mogul, Japan, the Kings of Golconde, Pegu, and Siam, and the Princes and Potentates of the East Indies.' The authority quoted is Drake's 'Hundred of Blackheath,' p. 79, note 8 (a work I cannot find). This entry was communicated by Sir George Musgrave, Baronet, of Edenhall, Cumberland (a descendant of A. Cogan), to Mr. J. Livingstone Jay, treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, by him to Mr. W. Duncombe Pink, of Lowton, Newton-le-Willows, and by Mr. Pink to me. The year 1654 in the 'Complete Baronetage' of Mr. G. E. Cokayne, vol. iii., p. 304, which rests on the same authorities, should be 1652. In any case, Andrew Cogan never returned to the East; he was at Venice on February 7, 1653 (Calendar of Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii., p. 176, No. 979, (3); and Hyde, writing to Nicholls on April 11, 1653 (ibid., vol. ii, p. 192, No. 1068) says: 'Sir A. Cogan is not an excellent ambassador.' Presumably, this is an allusion to his selection
Ambassador to India and the Farther East, and probably led to the substitution of Henry Bard, Viscount Bellomont.

If Bellomont's Letters of Appointment were drawn up in June, 1651, how came it to pass that no start was made till late in 1653? I guess that the cause was want of funds. I have not met with any direct evidence of the date on which Bard sailed; it can only be inferred approximately from other dates. Several statements are found that Charles II. was at Bruges when Bellomont was despatched. Now, as far as I can make out from C. J. Lyon, 'Personal History of King Charles the Second' (1851), and O. Airy's 'Charles II.' (1904), Charles landed in France on October 16, 1651 (Airy, p. 106), and did not leave it again until July 8, 1654 (ibid., p. 111). He did not settle at Bruges until April 22, 1656 (ibid., p. 130), and this is too late to allow of that place being his residence when he gave authority to Bellomont. It is noticeable that Manucci says Charles II. was 'in France' when Bellomont started from Venice.

We learn from the Aleppo letter quoted below that Bellomont carried with him recommendatory letters from the States General of Holland to their agents at Isfahan. The Commonwealth was then at war with Holland, hostilities beginning in April, 1652, and peace being made in May, 1654 (see S. R. Gardiner's 'History of Commonwealth,' vol. ii., pp. 116,370. I have not been able to procure any confirmation from the Dutch archives that any such letters were issued; but, assuming the fact, they must have been anterior to the peace of May, 1654. Professor C. H. Firth has been kind enough to furnish me with a copy of a letter written from Aleppo on March 19, 1654-55 (Mercurius Politicus, No. 265, July 5 to 12, 1655, pp. 5466,5467). Nine days before its date the East India Company's agent at Aleppo had received letters from Persia in which it was stated that 'a pretended ambassador from the late King of Scots at Cullen is come to the Persian Court with purpose to disturb the Companies affairs there, and to obtain the rights ofOrmus Customs from them, having recommendatory letters (which if true were doubtless obtained in the time of the warr) from the States of Holland to the Dutch in these parts to assist him therein, unto whom he hath written to Spatan (Isfahan) from Khazbien (Qazwin)—where the Emperor then kept his Court—to that purpose. . . .'

Manucci's date in the text, 1651, is hopelessly wrong, and the same chronological error recurs in his 'Storia' for many years up to about 1680. But by calculating backwards from several unimpeachable dates, it is possible to arrive approximately at the period when the journey from Venice commenced, viz. late in 1653.

In a general letter from Isfahan (India Office, O.C. 2420), dated October 14, 1654, we find that they had just heard there
of Bellomont's arrival at Tabriz. Manucci's text (i. 33) fixes September as the month of arrival at Qazwin, and elsewhere (i. 23) he states that on the journey he saw an eclipse of the sun at Zulfah in Armenia. Dr. Downing, of the Nautical Almanac Office, has been kind enough to verify this, and fixes it as an eclipse of August 12, 1654, which would have been visible at that place. Assuming that they reached Qazwin on September 1, 1654, I calculate from Manucci's entries of halts and journeys that 206 days were occupied (say six months and twenty days) from their landing at Smyrna until their arrival at Qazwin. Deducting this number of days, we get February 11, 1654, as the date of arrival at Smyrna, and since the voyage to Smyrna had occupied four months, we obtain October 11, 1653, as the approximate date of setting sail from Venice. This corresponds fairly well, as to the month, with Manucci, who says it was November. I have not been able to secure any verification on this subject from the Venetian archives.

As to Bellomont's proceedings in Persia, Manucci's text must be referred to as the only full account which has come down to us. Some additional facts are disclosed in the East India Company's records, now at the India Office, and these sufficiently confirm Manucci's story. An extract from John Spiller's and Henry Young's letter from Isfahan of October 14, 1654, is as follows:

"...The premenconed were no sooner sealed, but by advices from Tabreeze &c we were informed that there was an English ambassador arrived in those parts by way of Turkey, haveing 3 English men more in his comp'ry and was receiv'd by all the King Governo' w'th greate respect; w'th also a letter to ye cheife of ye Carmelit Order heere in this place confirmes and says the Embassador goes by the name of my Lord Belamont, and so much does some frenchmens Lres averr that were sent from Khazbien where this King still keeps his Court, but at those advises date he had not spoken w'th the King, whoe for some reasons deferred awhile to admitt him unto his presents, one we are told is to inquired out exactly the quallitie of the person, and import of his message, that he may receive respect accordingly; for when wee heard of him first, w'th was from Aierwan (Ervian), we were informed that hee was one of the Palsgraves brothers, and so went for currant awhile, but afterwards to be as above menconed, but there are so many reports raised of him that we cannot now say what he is; though we have wrytten and made muche inquirie to finde it out; nor beleive shall not iustly, until our Linguist wrytes us, whoe is gone to Court about our Customes and some other businesses, of which the embassador is none of the least, though in o'petiction to the Atamaam Dowlatt, we have not in ye' least made mention of him."
The 24th last month [September 1654] we rec'd by the Pashaw of Buszorahs serv't advises from that place dated the 18 August and w'h them letters from the Consull of Aleppo of the 12th June in w'h we were given to understand that the beginning of April last a peace was concluded betwixt us and the Hollanders; so we cannot thinke lesse but that the Eagle or such Shippes as yo' intend forth for these parts, will bring out the Articles thereof, and that we shall have shippes in Band' sudainely. Wherefore Mr. Young is now journeying thither, w'h what estate wee have of yo' ready in cash; and John Spiller intends to follow as soone as he receives some newes from Court, of the aforemenconed Embassadors proceedings.

One thing by all the informacon that we have yet rec'd is that he seekes for yo' right of Customes of Gumbrone; and for his assistance therein, hath brought recomendatory letters from the States of Holland, w'h we are persuaded to give cre-dence to; being to our knowledge hee hath wrytten to the Cheife of the Dutch heere; therefore wee may easily iudg that he is not on our side, but against us; but we hope y' he will doe yo' affaires little hurt; especialy now the premencioned peace w'h the Dutch is concluded; w'h by our severall letters to Court the next day after we rec'd the newes, we have spread abroad w'h divers other particulars, as we rec'd them from Aleppo...'

[O.C. 2420.]

Search in the Dutch Archives at the Hague has produced no trace of the suggested recomendatory letters from the States General; but there is on record a Dutch translation of an Italian letter from Bellomont to Philips Angel, the Dutch company's chief merchant and agent in Isfahan. It is dated Qazwin, September 23, 1654, N.S. The original was received in Isfahan on October 22, and the translation was sent from Gombrone to Amsterdam on November 16, 1655; it is to the following effect:

'Qazbın,
'This 23rd September, New Style, 1654.

'SIR AND FRIEND,
'I am sending you the accompanying [letter] from Mr. Edward Blijdenberck, along with these two or three lines by way of salutation, and thereto I add that you must not accord credit to what is said here, that peace has been made with the unnatural monsters. The Devil is capable of much, and if this peace was made by him it cannot endure, as will soon be discovered.

'Moreover, having heard of your goodness of heart combined with much prudence, I greatly rejoice to have found a person of such great consideration in these regions with whom I can take counsel; and assuredly, as soon as possible, I shall transfer myself to Isfahan in order to procure that high honour.
Here we have entered a little into business, but have been able to conclude nothing, until I know things better, and in this, by God's grace, Your Honour's advice will be of great benefit to the king.

'In his (the king's) letter I am styled "cousin," and he states, for his Persian Majesty's information, all my titles. As one reason of non-success is the fact that I present myself here with 8 to 10 followers only, while not many days ago the Mosbych (?) envoy left this attended by two to three hundred men. The second reason is that in regard to money, when giving a morsel to one, the other is opening his mouth. [The passage is obscure.] But this difficulty can be understood by those coming through Turkey. I carefully sought opportunity to make it known that for many years we have suffered, and our means are exhausted. Where can we find [money] to uphold our position? Finally, they have been satisfied here with this explanation.

'Whenever anything is paid to me I shall try not to give to the Wāği'ah-nāvis [treasurer?] a "casbegi" (?) of the coin I am soliciting for my king, but the same shall be placed in your hands in order to be transferred to those of the king. Then, I should return again by way of Aleppo, after y leave-taking. Here they are my good friends and treat me right royally. But as soon as I am through with a purge that I have taken for a cold which has troubled me continuously for eight months, I shall start from here [Qazwīn]. Finally I beg of you to keep the English in ignorance. I am &c.

[Undersigned]
'Your Honour's affectionate Servant,
'HARRIGO DE BELLEMONTE.'

[Postscript.]

'Will you kindly get your servant to find a house for me for a month or six weeks.'

TO THE CHIEF MERCHANT AND AGENT,
PHILIPS ANGEL,
AT ISFAHĀN.

The Dutch agents at Gombroon wrote on the 1st January, 1655, that the English envoy was in favour at Court, and his negotiations were so secret that neither they nor the English had heard anything. The latter were much concerned, as it was presumed that the affair was meant "to stick a needle into their Company here." The English had sent their interpreter to Qazwīn to find out. The last notice to be traced is in a letter, also from Gombroon, of the 23rd October, 1655, where the Dutch say that, after a year's stay at Isfahān, Henrico
Bellemonte had left it a month before, having received from the king on his leave-taking a sum of 100 tiūnān, equivalent to 4,000 gulden. The result of his negotiations had remained secret, but they would enquire further.

The story is carried on [O.C. 2426] in the transcript of a letter from J. Spiller and Anthony Daniell to the President and Council in Sūrat, dated from Isfahān November 2, 1654:

'By coppie of o' last letter unto y'a Comp'y yo' may please to perceive the reasons that John Spiller went not to Band' when M' Young journied thither; being about some Court business from whence lately we have rec'd a letter from o' Linguist in w' he advises, that as yet he hath not delivered o' Petition to the Atamaam Dowlat by reason of his being abroad w' the king a hunting; from which sport returning both king & nobles kept their houses for 3 or 4 days; and for y'a English Embassadore his cheife businesse is such as we alwayes heard it to bee, to witte, for yo' right of Gumbroo Customes, but what successe he hath had therein we have not yet heard, he haveing ben but once w' the king when our Servant wrote his letter; other advises we dayly & hourely expect; w' so soon as rec'd we intend to make our reipaire to Bander; as we shall w'them, if they be long acoeining, that as nigh as possible we may comply w' your commands....'

Next there is a Sūrat letter in O.C. 2455, dated Swally Maryne, March 15, 1654-55, and signed by Edward Pearce, John Spiller, and Henry Gary. It says 'Mr. Spiller from Psia hath not failed yo' in his Advices Overland, wherein wee finde hee hath not been wanting to give you the best informacion hee could concerning yo' Affaires in those parts, you will reade that my Lord Bella-mount, the pretended Embassadore from wee know not whome, and supposed Brother to one M' Bard Silkman in Paternoster Row was lodged 4 daies before he left Spahaun, since w' time wee reade from our Broker that hee hath shut up his doores and takes physick, we are perswaded hee will never prejudice yo' Affaires now wee have Peace w' the Dutch, but had the Warrs continu'd by their Assistance hee might have troubled you much in your Customes at Gombroon, which as wee hear is y'a only thing hee aymes at.'

On December 3, 1655 (with a postcript of the 4th), William Weale, Daniel Ogther, and Antho Daniell wrote from Gombroon to the President and Council in Surat as follows:

[O.C. 2508]: 'The 30th (being Sunday at night) y'a pretended English Embassadore, whose goeth under y'style of y's Lord Bellamount, arrived heere from Asphahanne; whoe pretended he is bound for India after a moneth or too stay heere; but his

10. This is, of course, Maximilian Bard, the elder brother, afterwards of Caversfield, Bucks.
Linguist who was formerly a Jessuitt saith, he hath a Phirmaan from y$ King of Persia for y$ Comp$ Customes; and that hee stayeth here in expectacon of 10 Sayle of Shipps, that should come from we cannot imagine whence; also y$ kings officers heere say that y$ kings commaund is on them, that in case he will accept of y$ Customes they should turn us out; and settle them on him; if not continue them as they are to vs; but there are soe many reports in towne and soe little appearance of his acting anything therein, that we cannot believe anything thereof; however thought it good to acquaint yo$ what we heare....

Postscript

'. . . In a former clause we acquainted yo$ of y$ Lord Bella
mount's arrival here; whoe to shew that he hath noe intent to
injure the Comp$ or trouble their Servants heere, hath desired
his passage on y$ Seahorse for Surat; w$ we y$ willinger granted
that his presents heere might not raise any more rumours, for
of a certayne y$ Atamaam Dowllatt would faine have him accep
ted of y$ customes a while; thereby to have an occasion to
turne vs out; as he would alsose him in a very short time after
wards; soe y$ we hope yo$ will not take it ill that we gave him
his passage; Mr. Young can acquaint yo$ more fully how much
hee protested never to endeavoure to injure y$ Company in
Spahauyne or any place, to whose relacon please to be re
ferred...'

The Seahorse reached Swalley on January 6, 1655-56 [O.C.
2525, Swally Marine, January 19, 1655-56], and we have one
more notice in a letter from Surat, dated January 29, 1655-1656,
and signed by John Spiller, Henry Gary, Thomas Reynardson,
and Ant$ Smith.'... The L. Bellamont is in Surat where he hath
taken a house, so it should seem y$ hee intends to remain there
for some time, wee wish y$ his remove from Persia may be a
meanes to free yo$ from all trouble aboutt y$ Customes and
alalso cause of a greater annuall inlargement.' [O.C. 2534.] At
this point the Company's records become defective, so that we
have no further official evidence of Lord Bellomont's proceed
ings in India. But Manucci's account of their stay in Surat
and journey via Burhanpur and Agrah towards Dihli may be
accepted with some confidence.

Something is to be found, however, in the Dutch archives.
On February 6, 1656, H. van Gent (and others) wrote to Joan
Maatsuycker (Maatzuikker), Governor-General and Council at
Batavia, that the envoy from the young King of England,
named Henrico de Bellemonte, had arrived. He had been to
the Persian Court about a share in the Customs, but had failed.
He had fallen ill (in Surat), and had asked for aid from the
Honorable (Dutch) Company's surgeon. He had a cancerous
sore in his cheek, but he could not trust himself to the English
there for any help. The request was willingly accepted, but
they feared it would be a difficult business to heal him, as the cheekbone was exposed. 'The said lord seems a very well-informed, modest, and courteous man, who is very afflicted over this accident that has happened to him.' Maatzuiker was Governor-General from 1653 to 1678.

Nor are there any reasons for declining to accept Manucci's statement that his Lordship died at Hodal on June 20 (1656). I have tried, but without success, through my friend, Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, Commissioner of Agrah, to obtain from the Roman Catholic Bishop there a copy of any entry in the burial registers. As Bellomont had turned Catholic several years before his death, he must have been buried in their cemetery, which was, indeed, the only one at that period. Possibly there may be duplicate registers somewhere in Rome, but have not been able to institute a search. A curious mention of Bellomont, which must refer to his stay in Agrah, is to be found on fol. 26 of B.M. Sloan MS., No. 811. John Campbell, speaking of placing the King of England's arms on some cannon he cast, says: 'I had one of his Ma'ttis great seals from my L'd Bellmount by wth I cast his armes.'

The 'Dictionary of National Biography' places Bellomont's death in 1660, and Manucci in 1653. For these years I would substitute 1656, confirmed as it is by John Hall's memorandum at King's College, Cambridge, and the India Office records. Where the writer in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' got 'Arabia' as the place of death I know not; his own authorities say 'Persia.' But both statements must be wrong in the face of the official evidence that Bellomont left Persia and landed safely in India, from which he never returned.

His arms are delineated in W. Coles' 'Cambridge Collections,' vol. xv., p. 137 (British Museum Manuscript, No. 5816). As to his children, there is some difference in various authorities. The 'Complete Baronetage,' by Mr. G. E. Cokayne, ii., p. 228, gives him three daughters, but denies (in note b) that he left a son who survived until 1686. On this point I think the author must be wrong. Bellomont's widow in her petitions to the King in 1660 (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol. xvii., No. 98, p. 300), when speaking of her children, says, 'one your Majesty's godsonne'; and in her second petition (ibid., vol. xx., No. 3, p. 331) is the expression, 'having 4 children.' Mr. W. Duncombe Pink (on the authority of Maddison's 'Lincolnshire Pedigrees,' i. 78; Harleian Society, vols. 50, 51, 1902), gave me particulars which, if accepted, overrule Mr. Cokayne's suggestion of a confusion with Charles, Earl of Bellomont, d. 1683, of a totally different family (Van der Kirkhove). The year of Charles Bard's death was 1665, and not 1685. The result is as follows: